



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

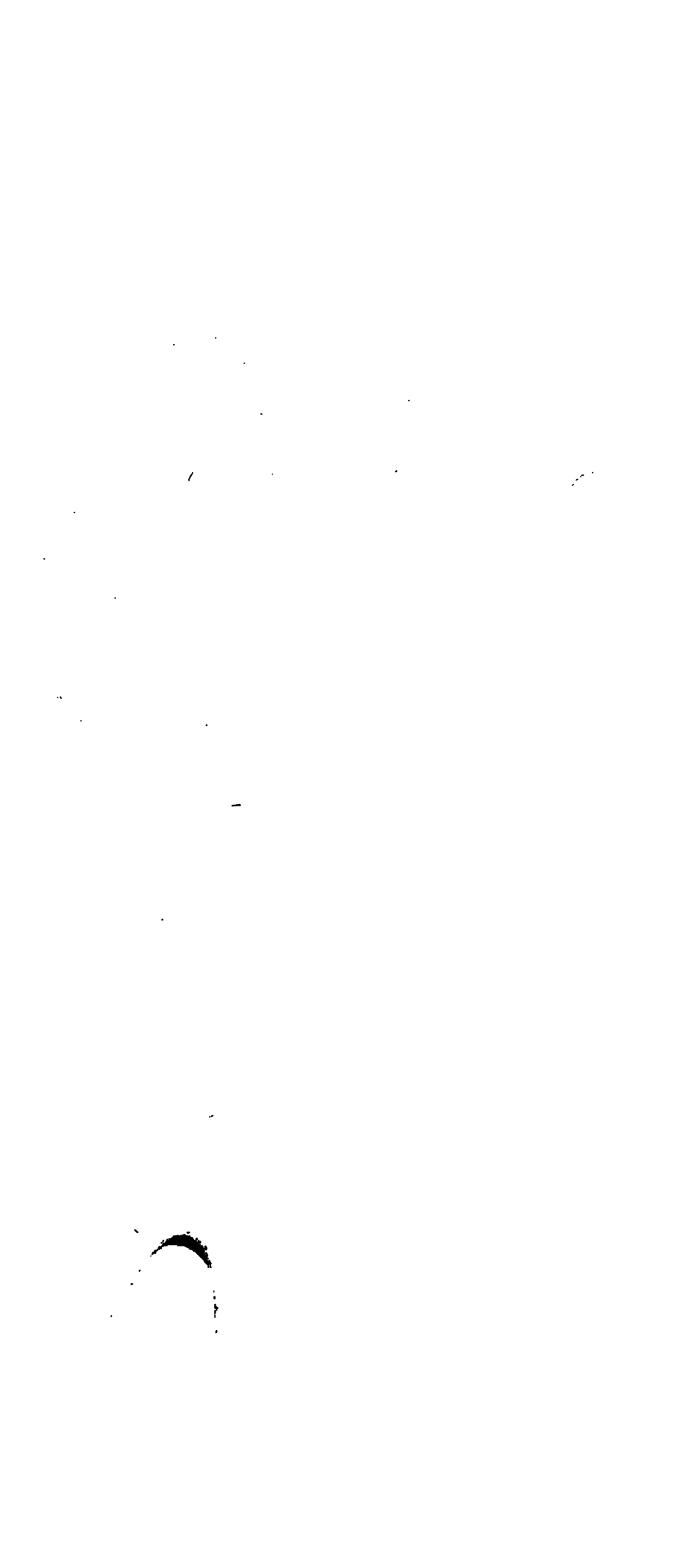
IES
51 5

NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

PRESENTED BY
MISS MATILDA W. BRUCE

JULY 27TH 1908







(Leo X: Rosc
22.13.0

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1962

1963

1964

1965

1966

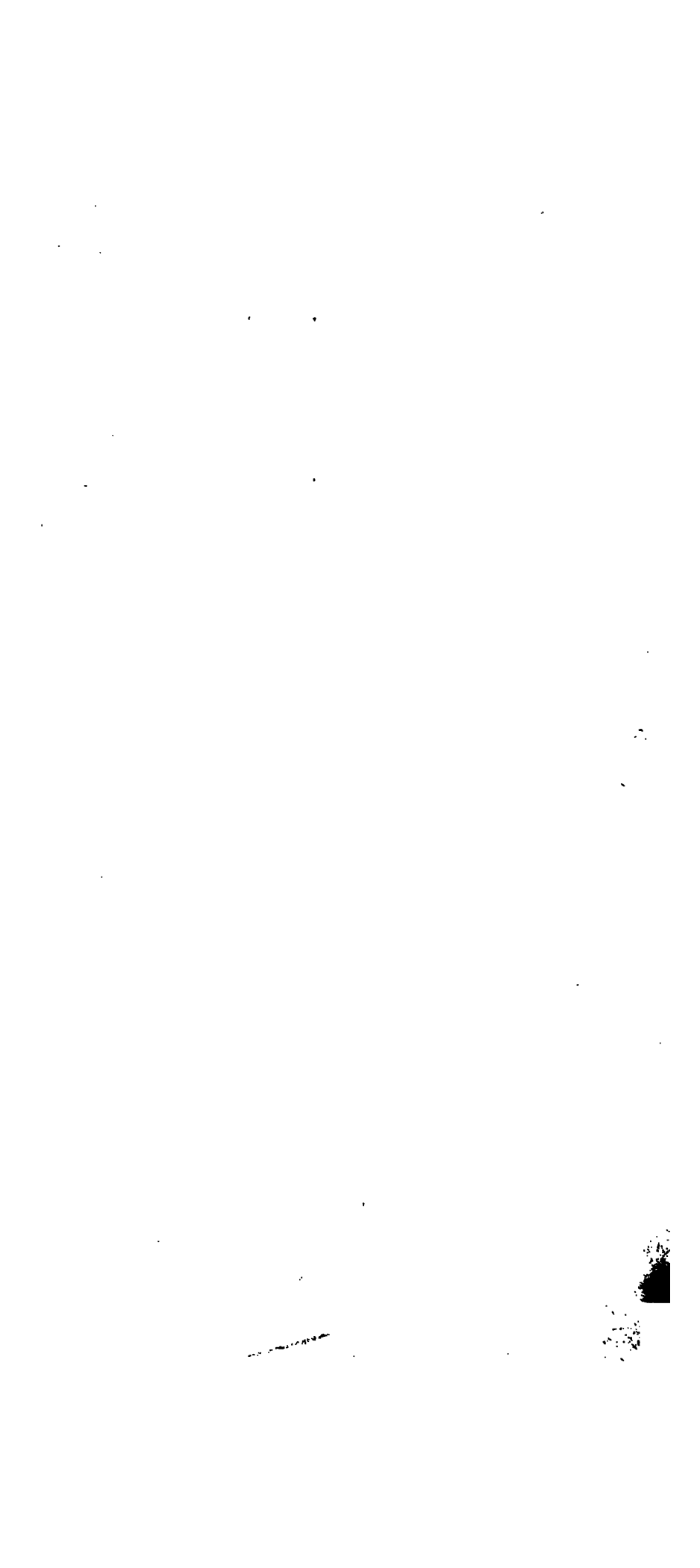
1967

1968

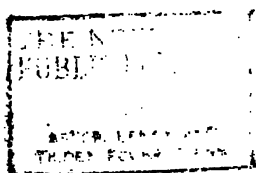
1969

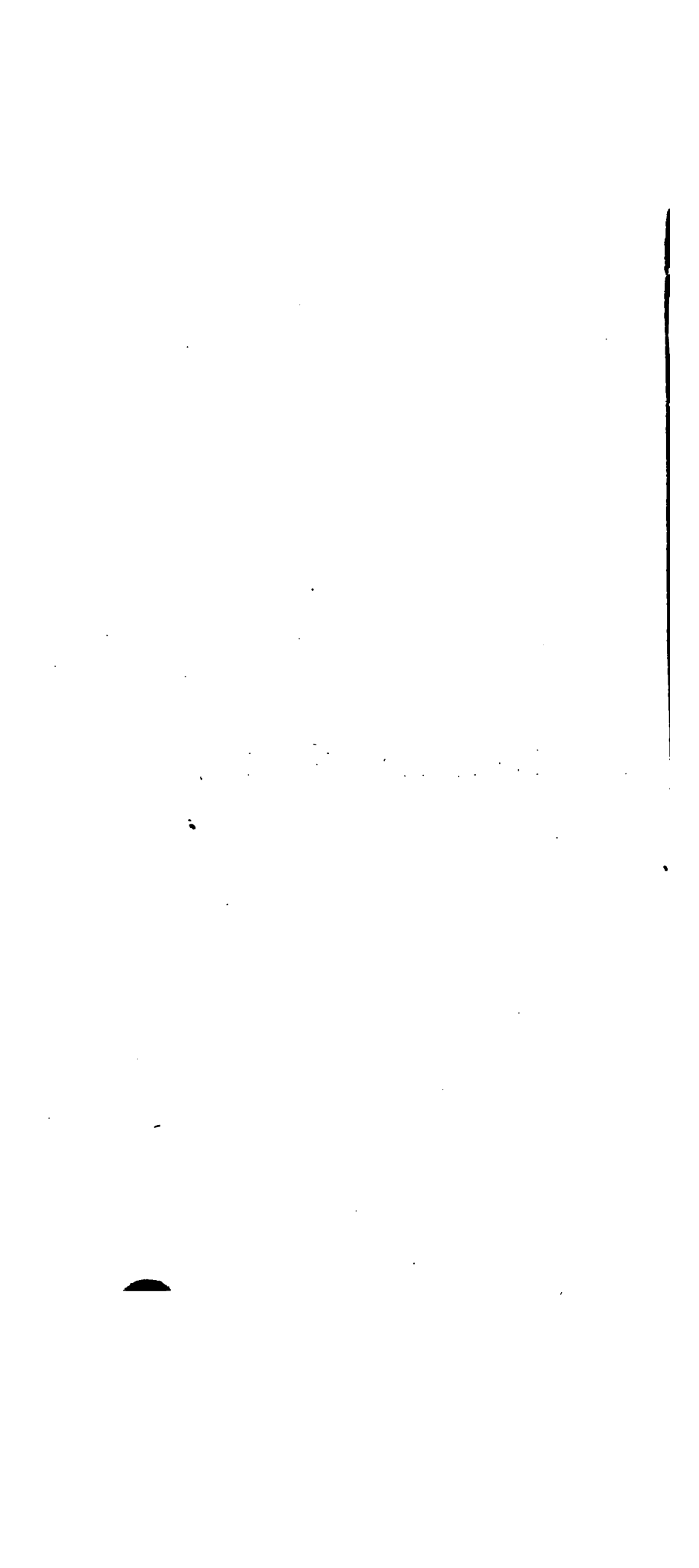
1970

1971









THE
LIFE
AND
PONTIFICATE
OF
LEO THE TENTH.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM ROSCOE.

VOL. I.

—Tucri enim eorum memoriam, quorum merita multa in homines
et præclara extiterunt, æquitatis et justitiæ laudem habet.

Jo. Mich. Brutus, ad Tingium.

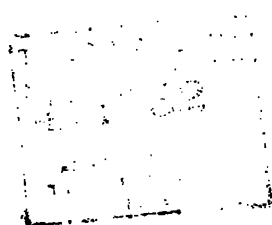
PHILADELPHIA :

PRINTED AT THE LORENZO PRESS OF E. BRONSON.

1805.

Ⓐ

BRONSON
1805



PREFACE.

FOR almost three centuries the curiosity of mankind has been directed towards the age of **LEO THE TENTH**. The history of that period has not, however, yet been attempted in a manner in any degree equal to the grandeur and variety of the subject. Nor is this difficult to be accounted for. Attractive as such an undertaking may at first appear, it will be found on a nearer inspection to be surrounded by many difficulties. The magnitude of such a task ; the trouble of collecting the materials necessary to its proper execution ; the long devotion of time and of labour which it must unavoidably require ; and above all, the apprehensions of not fulfilling the high expectations which
have

have been formed of it, are some of those circumstances which have perhaps prevented the accomplishment of a work which has often been suggested, sometimes closely contemplated, but hitherto cautiously declined.

The same considerations, which have deterred others from engaging in so laborious and hazardous an attempt, would in all probability have produced a similar effect on myself, had I not been led by imperceptible degrees to a situation in which I could scarcely, with either propriety or credit, have declined the task. The history of the life of Lorenzo de' Medici, the father of Leo. X. had opened the way to a variety of researches, not less connected with the events of the ensuing period, than with those of the times for which they were immediately intended; and even that work was considered by many, perhaps not unjustly, as only the vestibule to a more spacious building, which it would be incumbent on the author at some future period to complete. Since that publication, the friendship and liberality of several distinguished characters, both at home and abroad, have supplied me with many valuable communications and original documents, which without their countenance and favour, it would not have been in my power
to

to have obtained. To have withheld these materials from the publick, would have defeated the purpose for which they were communicated; and to have shrunk from the task under such circumstances, would have given occasion for a construction almost as unfavourable to myself as the failure of success. These reflections have induced me, amidst the constant engagements of an active life, to persevere in an undertaking, which has occasionally called for exertions beyond what my time, my talents, or my health could always supply; and I now submit to the publick the result of the labour of many years, in the best form in which, under all circumstances, it has been in my power to offer it to their acceptance.

Although I have entitled the following work **THE LIFE AND PONTIFICATE OF LEO X.** yet I have not only thought it excusable, but even found it necessary, to enter into the general history of the times; without which it would have been impossible to give so full an idea of the character and conduct of this celebrated pontiff, as it was my wish to communicate. Nor can I regret the opportunity which has thus been afforded me, of examining more fully than has perhaps hitherto been done, a period productive of great and important events,
and

and which exhibits almost every diversity of human character. Respecting the propriety of this union of individual biography with general history, I am well aware, that doubts have been entertained by persons of considerable eminence in literature. That there are certain limits between the province of the historian and that of the biographer may readily be admitted; yet, as these branches of study are equally conversant with the individuals of our own species, it will unavoidably happen, that each of them will at times encroach upon the precincts of the other. In perusing the pages of Livy or of Tacitus, of Hume or of Gibbon, we find no parts which interest us more than the private and personal memorials of those great and illustrious men who have acted a conspicuous part in the publick events of the age; whilst, on the other hand, it would be impossible to form a correct idea of the character of an individual, without considering him in those relations, by which he stands connected with the general transactions of the times in which he lived, and which in truth have not only displayed, but in some measure formed his character. That these mutual concessions may admit of abuse, cannot be doubted; yet, if the great objects of pleasure and utility be obtained, that criticism would perhaps be too rigid, which would narrowly

rowly restrict so advantageous an interchange. In tracing the history of a people through any considerable portion of time, the attention is weakened, and the feelings are blunted, by the rapid succession of events and characters, in which we might have been more deeply interested, if our information respecting them had been more minute. The history of mankind may be compared to the surface of the earth, which is composed of wild woods and trackless deserts, interspersed, however, with cultivated spots, and peculiar appearances of nature. The traveller passes heedlessly over the undiversified prospect, and dwells only on such parts as for their beauty, sublimity, or singularity, he deems most worthy of his regard.

These observations, it is hoped, may serve as an apology for my having entered so much at large into the history of many transactions, which, although they were not influenced in any eminent degree by the personal interference of Leo X. greatly affected the fortunes of his early years. Of this nature is the narrative of the irruption of Charles VIII. into Italy; an enterprise which, as Mr. Gibbon asserts, changed the face of Europe, and of which he at one time meditated a distinct and separate history. The siege of Pisa, as long and as eventful as the celebrated siege of Troy, is

so closely connected with all the political events and negotiations of the time, and in particular, with the fate of the three brothers of the Medici, as unavoidably to obtrude itself upon our frequent notice. In adverting to the pontificate of Alexander VI. it is impossible to avoid being forcibly struck with the energy, or rather the atrocity of character by which that pontiff and his son, Cesar Borgia, were distinguished; and the singular transactions recorded of them, must occasionally give rise to doubts, which the labours of the most industrious and impartial inquirer will scarcely be adequate to remove. With the fortunes of the Medici, the effects of the memorable league of Cambray, which alone has been the subject of several volumes, are still more closely connected; whilst the conquest of Naples, and the expulsion of the royal family of Aragon by the united arms of Louis XII. and of Ferdinand of Spain, and the subsequent disagreement and contests of those monarchs, for the dominion of that kingdom, claim our attention, no less on account of their connexion with our principal subject, than by their intrinsic importance.

An opinion has of late been very generally advanced both in this country and abroad, that
notwith-

notwithstanding the improvement which took place in Italy, in the age of Leo X. a very moderate portion of it is to be attributed to the personal exertions, talents, and patronage of that pontiff; and that by giving to this period the ostentatious title of **THE AGE OF LEO X.** we deprive the other eminent patrons of literature who flourished during the same era, of that praise to which they are justly entitled. I ought not very earnestly to oppose an opinion, which, if espoused by my readers, would relieve me from a great part of my responsibility. Yet, that Leo, during his short pontificate of less than nine years, exerted himself with considerable effect in the promotion of literature and the restoration of the fine arts, cannot be doubted; and as his services have never yet been sufficiently appreciated, or collected into one point of view, an attempt to supply what has hitherto been wanting in this respect, may be entitled at least to pardon. The effects produced by Leo on the character of the times, will, however, be better estimated, when the transactions of his life shall have been more fully unfolded. I shall afterwards return to this important and essential part of my subject, and endeavour to ascertain the amount of the obligations due from posterity to Leo the tenth.

The

The earliest professed history of Leo X. is that of Paolo Giovio, better known by his Latin appellation of *Paullus Jovius*. This author, the character of whose various productions is sufficiently known, had every opportunity of obtaining the most exact and authentick information on the subject of his history. His life of Leo X. written, like the rest of his works, in Latin, is one of the most valuable of his productions, containing much authentick information, and being perhaps less tinctured than the generality of his labours, with that satirical spirit, which its author on many occasions evinced.

With this history of Leo X. by Jovius, and the Italian translation by Dominichi, printed at Florence in 1549, the learned world seems to have remained satisfied for upwards of two centuries. Many incidental anecdotes and brief memoirs of this distinguished pontiff, were in the mean time given to the publick; but the first serious intention of connecting the life of Leo X. with the history of the revival of learning, appears to have arisen in our own country, where the elegant and pathetick poet, William Collins, about the middle of the last century, is said to have published proposals for such a history. "I have heard him speak with great kindness," says Dr. Johnson, "of Leo X. and

“and with keen resentment of his tasteless success; but probably not a page of the history was ever written.” Much as we may regret the failure of this enterprise, those whom nature has endowed with the capacity of feeling the charm of the tender and impassioned productions of this author, will regret still more those calamities that prevented him from increasing the number of his poetical works, which have justly been characterized, as exhibiting “a luxuriance of imagination, a wild sublimity of fancy, and a felicity of expression so extraordinary, that they might be supposed to be suggested by some superiour power, rather than to be the effect of human judgment or capacity.”

Among the friends of Collins, who seem to have shared his confidence and his studies, was Mr. Thomas Warton, by whom the design of giving a history of the restoration of letters in Europe, was continued, or revived. In the excellent Essay of his brother, Dr. Warton, on the life and writings of Pope, is the following passage. “Concerning the particular encouragement given by Leo X. to literature and the fine arts, I forbear to enlarge; because a friend of mine is at present engaged in writing the HISTORY OF THE
“ AGE

“ AGE OF LEO THE TENTH. It is a noble period,
“ and full of those most important events, which
“ have had the greatest influence on human affairs.
“ Such as the discovery of the West Indies by the
“ Spaniards, and of a passage to the East by the
“ Portuguese ; the invention of printing ; the refor-
“ mation of religion ; with many others ; all of
“ which will be insisted upon at large, and their
“ consequences displayed.” As the Essay which
contains this passage, was first published in 1756,
the same year in which Collins died, it is possible
that this notice was intended to refer to his under-
taking ; but it is also certain, that on his death,
the design was not abandoned by his surviving
friends. In a conversation which I had the pleasure
of enjoying with Dr. Warton, in the year 1797,
the progress made in an undertaking which had
been so long announced to the publick, became
an object of my inquiry. By him I was informed
that it had been the intention of himself, his brother,
and several of their literary friends, to give a his-
tory of the revival of letters, not only in Italy, but
in all the principal countries of Europe ; and that
the history of English Poetry by Mr. Thomas
Warton, was only a part of this great design.
When we advert to the various and excellent criti-
cal productions of these liberal and learned brothers;
and

and consider that among the names of their coadjutors, would probably have been found those of West, of Walpole, of Mason, and of Gray, we cannot sufficiently lament the want of publick encouragement, which was, in all probability, the chief cause that prevented this noble and extensive undertaking from being carried into complete execution.

In Italy the life and transactions of Leo X. have, within these few years, been the subject of a work of no inconsiderable merit. To the writings of the late much lamented and learned Monsignore Angelo Fabroni, *Provveditore*, or Principal, of the university of Pisa, I have before been indebted for many important facts in the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici; some of which I have examined with that freedom, which, to some authors, would have been a cause of offence, but which a liberal mind will always prefer to the vain homage of indiscriminate applause. The attempt which I then made to illustrate a period of history, which had been the peculiar object of his inquiry, had the good fortune to obtain his approbation. Under his auspices, the English Life of Lorenzo de' Medici was elegantly translated into Italian, by the Cavaliero Mecherini, and published at Pisa in the year 1799. I was
after-

afterwards honoured by the correspondence of Monsignore Fabroni, which was continued until the time of his death in the latter part of the year 1803; and in the course of which he transmitted to me his "Life of Leo X." written in Latin, and published at Pisa in the year 1797. In this work the learned author has not confined himself to the account given of Leo X. by Jovius, but has collected much original information respecting this pontiff, and the age in which he lived. By the aid of these resources he was enabled to throw additional light on his subject; whilst the valuable collection of documents published by him at the close of his work, not only confirm his narrative, but supply important materials for future historians. As the work was not, however, intended by the author, so it must not be expected by the publick, to contain a very full and extensive account of the progress made during the pontificate of Leo X. in the departments of science, of literature, or of art; or of those very numerous and distinguished men, to whose writings and labours the reign of that pontiff is indebted for its principal lustre.

But besides these professed histories of Leo X. several works have appeared, which are chiefly confined to the elucidation of some particular parts
of

of his life, or of those of the times in which he lived. Among these are the history of the League of Cambray, by some attributed to the pen of cardinal Polignac; the narrative of the battle of the Taro, between Charles VIII. and the allied army of Italy, by Benedetti; the lives of Alexander VI. and his son Cesar Borgia, by Gordon; the dialogue of Raffaello Brandolini, entitled LEO; and the commentary of Galeazzo Capella, on the efforts made for the restoration of Francesco Sforza to the dutchy of Milan; with many other publications of a similar nature, of which it will appear that I have frequently availed myself, in the course of the following work.

The detached and particular histories to which I have before adverted, contain, however, but a small portion of that immense mass of information which remains to the present times, respecting the publick and private character and conduct of Leo X. From the high dignity which he enjoyed, both as a secular and an ecclesiastical potentate, and from the active part which he took in all the transactions which affected the state of Europe, his life is intimately connected with the general history of the age; insomuch that there is not an author who has had occasion to treat on the events of this period,

in whose work he does not occupy a conspicuous station.

To these, the recorders of the political, civil, and military events of the times, I might add a long train of literary historians, to whom I have been greatly indebted for that department of the following work, which is intended to illustrate the state of letters and of science. Among these, must be distinguished the immortal work of Tiraboschi; the noblest specimen of that species of composition which any age or country has produced; and the accurate and comprehensive account of the writers of Italy, by Mazzuchelli, who, in grasping at an object too extended for human talents, or human life, has executed, in six volumes in folio, a comparatively small portion of his colossal attempt.

I shall not, on this occasion, weary the reader by enumerating the many other various and excellent authors, either in this department, or in that of the fine arts, in which the Italians abound beyond any other country, who have afforded their assistance in the following pages; but I must avail myself of this opportunity finally to observe, that I have made it an invariable rule, in the accounts which I have found it necessary to give of the writings and characters

characters of men of literary eminence, to resort for information to their own works, as far as my opportunities would permit, and to found my opinions and draw my deductions from them, rather than from those of any subsequent writer. How far I have been enabled thus to derive my intelligence from its primitive channels, will sufficiently appear in the course of my work ; in which it has been my practice to refer to the author from whom I have actually quoted ; and who must be considered as answerable for the accuracy of the citation, when the original has not fallen in my way.

Such are the works relating to the life of Leo X. and the times in which he lived, which have already been published, and of which I have availed myself in the course of the ensuing narrative ; but, besides these more ostensible sources of information, I have, during a series of years, been enabled to collect many original documents, which have served to throw considerable light on the times to which the following pages relate. Of these, one of the most important acquisitions consists of a series of letters and papers, copied from the originals in the archives of the *Palazzo Vecchio* at Florence, and forming two volumes in folio, of about three hundred

dred pages each. For this valuable collection I am indebted to the obliging and disinterested interference of a nobleman, who adds dignity to his station, not only by the firm and consistent tenour of his publick conduct, but by his encouragement of those literary studies, in which he has himself made so distinguished a proficiency. The liberal views of Lord Holland were seconded by the kind assistance of Mr. Penrose, the late British resident at Florence, and were carried into complete effect by the generosity of the Grand Duke; who directed that access should be had at all times to the original state papers, and every possible facility given to these researches. The first part of this collection consists chiefly of letters, written by the great Lorenzo de' Medici, father of the pontiff, relating principally to the promotion of his son to the rank of cardinal. From these letters, which have enabled me to place this event in its fullest light, I might have given much larger extracts; but as they elucidate only this single circumstance, it will perhaps be thought that I have been sufficiently copious in my authorities on this head. This collection also comprises a series of letters written by Balthazar Turini, commonly called Balthazar or Baldassare da Pescia, then at Rome, to Lorenzo de' Medici, the nephew of the pontiff, who resided at Florence during

during the early part of the pontificate of Leo X. From these, none of which have heretofore been printed, it appears that the writer was appointed assistant Datary, or Secretary, to transmit to Florence the fullest information on every event that took place at Rome, not only with respect to public transactions, but to the private concerns of every branch of the family of the Medici. In the execution of this office he seems to have acted under the immediate directions of the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII. who was intrusted by Leo X. with the superintendence of the government of the Florentine state, and to whose suggestions Lorenzo was expected implicitly to conform. These letters, although they extend only from the month of March to the month of September, in the second year of the pontificate of Leo X. (1514) throw considerable light on the characters of the persons there mentioned, and suggest or illustrate many curious and important circumstances; but besides these, the most material subjects, this collection of papers is interspersed with other documents of considerable interest, not heretofore published, and which will be more particularly noticed in the course of the following work.

In

In adverting to the assistance which I have derived from the city of Florence, that cradle of the arts in modern times, I must not omit to notice the favours conferred on me by the late venerable and learned Canonico Angelo Maria Bandini, late principal librarian of the Laurentian library there. Of a character so well known in the literary world, any commendation of mine would be superfluous; yet I cannot avoid remarking it as an extraordinary circumstance, that he maintained a high rank among the scholars of Italy during the long space of sixty years, and that the history of his life, with an account of his literary productions, was given in the great work of Mazzuchelli, the publication of which he survived nearly half a century. During this period he continued to enrich the republic of letters by many other works; some of which, as they bear a particular reference to the history of the Medici, will be referred to in the following pages. To this eminent man, who retained his early and ardent love of literature to the close of his days, I am also indebted for the communication of several scarce and valuable documents, both printed and manuscript, as well as for various letters, indicating to me, with the utmost attention and minuteness, those sources of information which his long and intimate acquaintance

ance with the subjects of the following volumes had enabled him to point out.

In the prosecution of this work, I was, however, well aware that the most important information for my purpose might be derived from the immense collections of the Vatican, and could not but regret, that from the calamitous state of publick affairs, the distance of my own situation from these records, and other circumstances, there was little probability that I should be able to surmount the formidable obstacles that presented themselves to its attainment. From this state of despondency I was however fortunately relieved, by the unsolicited kindness of John Johnson Esquire, then on his travels through Italy, who, with a liberality which demands my warmest acknowledgments, obtained for me, by means of his acquaintance with the Abate Gaetano Marini, the learned Prefect of the archives of the Vatican, a considerable number of important documents, copied as well from the manuscripts in that collection, as from printed works of extreme rarity, which relate to the affairs of the Roman court in the time of Leo X. and which are, for the most part, to be found only in that collection. Among the former is the fragment of an unpublished life of Leo X. written in Latin, with considerable elegance,
and

and brought down to the year 1516. The printed works consist principally of letters and orations of the ambassadours of foreign states to Leo X. and were probably only printed for the exclusive use of the Roman court. Besides these, I had also the pleasure of receiving an entire copy of the very scarce and curious tract of Jacopo Penni, containing the most particular account which now remains of the ceremonies and splendid exhibitions that took place in Rome on the elevation of Leo X.

To the continued favour and friendly recommendations of the same gentleman during his progress through Italy, I am also indebted for my literary intercourse with the celebrated Abate Jacopo Morelli, librarian of S. Marco at Venice, well known to the learned world, as the author of many estimable works. From him I have received much useful information respecting the publications necessary for my purpose, accompanied by some scarce tracts, and by his own judicious and interesting remarks. I am sensible that in thus paying the tribute of gratitude to the most illustrious scholars of Italy, I may be suspected of endeavouring to support my own weak endeavours upon the established reputation of their names ; but I have not been deterred by this consideration from discharging what I esteem

to

to be an indispensable obligation to the living, and a sacred duty to the dead; being well convinced that the favours conferred upon me, can no more excuse the imperfections of my work, than those imperfections can detract from the high character which the persons to whom I have referred have so justly and so universally obtained.

Respecting the private lives of Leo X. and his predecessors Alexander VI. and Julius II. considerable information is derived from the diaries of the successive officers of the Roman court, who were styled masters of the ceremonies of the pope's chapel, and who seem to have considered it as part of their duty to keep a register of such transactions as occurred under their own eye, or came to their knowledge. The first of these officers whose labours appear to have been preserved, is Giovanni Burcardo Broccardo, or as he is more usually called, Burchard, a native of Strasbourg, and dean of the church of St. Thomas in that city. He afterwards transferred his residence to Rome, where he obtained several ecclesiastical preferments, and was appointed master of the ceremonies on the twenty first day of December 1483, under the pontificate of Sixtus IV. A few months afterwards he commenced his journal, which, during the life of Sixtus IV. was

confined to a few slight and unimportant minutes. On the death of that pontiff he extended his plan, and has occasionally enriched it with anecdotes, and adverted to circumstances not strictly confined to the limits of his office. His diary is written in Latin, in a pedestrian and semi-barbarian style, but with an apparent accuracy and minuteness as to facts, which, notwithstanding the singular circumstances related by him, give it an air of veracity. Such part as adverts to the life of Alexander VI. has been published almost entire. Large extracts from it have also been given by several authors who have been inclined to expatiate on the enormities of this pontiff, and particularly by Gordon, in his life of Alexander VI. and his son Cesar Borgia, printed at London in 1729. After the death of Alexander, Burchard was appointed by Julius II. bishop of Horta, in the possession of which dignity he died on the 16th day of May, 1506.

About two years before the death of Burchard, he had a colleague or assistant in Paris de Grassis, who also succeeded him as master of the ceremonies. This officer has also kept a diary, which commences on the twelfth day of May, 1504, and is continued throughout the rest of the pontificate of Julius II. and the whole of that of Leo X. It
has

has never been printed entire, but some detached parts have been published; and it has also been consulted by several writers, who have given extracts from it in their works.

From the narrative of Paris de Grassis, it appears, that he was a native of Bologna, of a respectable family. His brother Achilles was, in the year 1511, raised by Julius II. to the dignity of the purple, and was one of the most learned and respectable members of the college. Another brother, Agamemnon (for the family names seem to have been sought for in Homer, rather than in the books of the Old and New Testament) was in the year 1510, ambassadour from the city of Bologna to the Pope. The assiduities of Paris, as master of the ceremonies, could not conciliate the favour of that austere pontiff Julius II. but in the vacancy of the holy see, which occurred on the death of that pope, he obtained from the sacred college, as a reward for his services, the promise of the bishoprick of Pesaro united with the abbey of Santa Croce. These dignities were afterwards confirmed to him by Leo X. who also nominated him a prelate of the palace, and appointed his nephew to be his coadjutor in the office of master of the ceremonies. He survived

survived that pontiff, and died at Rome on the tenth day of June, 1528.

The style of Paris de Grassis, like that of his predecessor, has little pretensions to elegance. It is, however, rendered interesting by its simplicity, which gives to his narration a character of fidelity. In the exercise of his functions he seems to have been a more rigid disciplinarian than even Burchard himself, and it is not unamusing to observe the importance which he frequently attaches to his office, and the severity with which he reproves those relaxations from the dignity of his high rank, in which Leo, on some occasions, indulged himself.

Among the objects of my earnest inquiry, was the unpublished part of the diary of Paris de Grassis, which yet exists in the library of the Vatican, and of which copies are also found in the national library at Paris. Of this diary, as well as of that of Burchard, some of the most interesting particulars have already been given to the publick, in the work entitled, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, which has been continued under the title of *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*; but as the extracts thus made are not in general given in the original Latin,

Latin, but are for the most part abridged, and translated into French, I have not derived from this work the advantages which I might otherwise have obtained. It happened, however, fortunately for my purpose, that in the summer of the year 1802, my particular friend and neighbour the Reverend Mr. Shepherd, well known as the author of *The Life of Poggio Bracciolini*, paid a visit to Paris. On this occasion I scrupled not to request his assistance in examining for me the different manuscripts of the diary of Paris de Grassis, and making such extracts from them, in the original, as he conceived would be most interesting. As no one can be better qualified for such a task, so no one could have entered upon it with greater alacrity. During his stay at Paris, a considerable portion of his time was passed in these researches, in which he met with every possible facility from the librarians; and on his return he brought with him several curious extracts, which have enabled me to throw additional light on the history of Leo X. and particularly on the singular circumstances attending his death.

Nor have I, in the course of my inquiries, wholly omitted the opportunities which even this country affords, of collecting information from unpublished documents respecting the times in question.

Among

Among the Cottonian Manuscripts in the British Museum, are contained many original letters from the Roman court and the English ambassadours resident there, to Henry VIII. and his ministers, explanatory of the political transactions of the age. I had not an opportunity of examining these papers, until my work was considerably advanced ; but by the kind assistance of my highly respected friend John Walker, Esq. of Bedford Square, and by the obliging attention of Mr. Planta, principal librarian of the British Museum, I have been enabled to inform myself of such documents as were more particularly applicable to my purpose, some of which the reader will find referred to in the course of the work.

Although I have for several years endeavoured, at great expense, and with considerable success, to collect such printed works as appeared to be necessary for the present undertaking, yet I have not neglected to solicit the assistance, or to avail myself of the offers of several persons, on whose friendship and liberality I could rely, to furnish me with such publications as I had not had the good fortune elsewhere to obtain. To the very obliging liberality of Richard Heber, Esq. of Hodnet, whose library is particularly enriched by the early editions
of

of the works of the modern writers of Latin poetry, I am indebted for the use of many of the scarce publications in that department, referred to in the following volumes, which have enabled me to discuss the subjects to which they relate, with greater confidence than I could possibly have done through the secondary medium of other writers. The very select library of my early literary associate, and long valued friend, William Clarke, Esquire, of Everton, has also been of frequent use to me in the course of my researches, during which I have derived additional assistance from his extensive learning, and very particular acquaintance with the literary history of Italy. My acknowledgments are also due for the use of scarce books and manuscripts, or for other favours in the course of my work, to Dr. James Currie, late of Liverpool, but now of Bath, well known by his many valuable publications, both on scientifick and literary subjects, and whom I am proud to record on this occasion, as my long esteemed and excellent friend; the Reverend William Parr Greswell, author of *Memoirs of Italian Scholars who have written Latin Poetry*; Sir Isaac Heard, Knight, Garter principal King of Arms; Mr. William Smyth, Fellow of Peter House, Cambridge; Henry Brown, Esq. of Liverpool; the Reverend Mr. Hinckes, of Cork; the Reverend
Mr.

Mr. Crane, Vicar of Over, in Cheshire ; the Reverend John Greswell, of the college, Manchester ; and to several other persons, who will, I hope, excuse a more particular acknowledgment, in the confidence that I am not insensible of their favours.

With respect to the execution of the following work, I cannot but be well aware, that many circumstances and characters will be found represented in a light somewhat different from that in which they have generally been viewed, and that I may probably be accused of having suffered myself to be induced by the force of prejudice, or the affectation of novelty, to remove what have hitherto been considered as the landmarks of history. To imputations of this kind, I feel the most perfect indifference. Truth alone has been my guide, and whenever she has steadily diffused her light, I have endeavoured to delineate the objects in their real form and colour. History is the record of the experience of mankind, in their most important concerns. If it be impossible for human sagacity to estimate the consequences of a falsehood in private life, it is equally impossible to estimate the consequences of a false, or partial representation of the events of former times. The conduct of the present is regulated by the experience of the past.

The

The circumstances which have led the way to the prosperity or destruction of states, will lead the way to the prosperity or destruction of states in all future ages. If those in high authority be better informed than others, it is from this source that their information must be drawn; and to pollute it, is therefore to poison the only channel through which we can derive that knowledge, which, if it can be obtained pure and unadulterated, cannot fail in time to purify the intellect, expand the powers, and improve the condition of the human race.

As in speaking of the natural world, there are some persons who are disposed to attribute its creation to chance, so in speaking of the moral world, there are some who are inclined to refer the events and fluctuations in human affairs to accident, and are satisfied with accounting for them from the common course of things, or the spirit of the times. But as *chance* and *accident*, if they have any meaning whatever, can only mean the operation of causes not hitherto fully investigated, or distinctly understood, so *the spirit of the times* is only another phrase for causes and circumstances, which have not hitherto been sufficiently explained. It is the province of the historian to trace and to discover these causes, and it is only in proportion as he

accomplishes this object, that his labours are of any utility. An assent to the former opinion may indeed gratify our indolence, but it is only from the latter method that we can expect to acquire true knowledge, or to be able to apply to future conduct the information derived from past events.

There is one peculiarity in the following work, which it is probable may be considered as a radical defect. I allude to the frequent introduction of quotations and passages from the poets of the times, occasionally interspersed through the narrative, or inserted in the notes. To some it may appear that the seriousness of history is thus impertinently broken in upon, whilst others may suppose, that not only its gravity, but its authenticity is impeached by these citations, and may be inclined to consider this work as one of those productions, in which truth and fiction are blended together, for the purpose of amusing and misleading the reader. To such imputations I plead not guilty. That I have at times introduced quotations from the works of the poets, in proof of historical facts, I confess; nor, when they proceed from contemporary authority, do I perceive that their being in verse invalidates their credit. In this light, I have frequently cited the *Decennale* of Machiavelli, and the *Vergier d'honneur*

honneur of André de la Vigne, which are in fact little more than versified annals of the events of the times; but in general, I have not adduced such extracts as evidences of facts, but for a purpose wholly different. To those who are pleased in tracing the emotions and passions of the human mind in all ages, nothing can be more gratifying than to be informed of the mode of thinking of the publick at large, at interesting periods, and in important situations. Whilst war and desolation stalk over a country, or whilst a nation is struggling for its liberties or its existence, the opinions of men of genius, ability, and learning, who have been agitated with all the hopes and fears to which such events have given rise, and have frequently acted a personal and important part in them, are the best and most instructive comment. By such means, we seem to become contemporaries with those whose history we peruse, and to acquire an intimate knowledge, not only of the facts themselves, but of the judgment formed upon such facts by those who were most deeply interested in them. Nor is it a slight advantage in a work which professes to treat on the literature of the times, that the publick events, and the works of the eminent scholars and writers of that period, thus become a mutual comment, and
serve

serve on many occasions to explain and to illustrate each other.

The practice which I have heretofore adopted of designating the scholars of Italy by their national appellations, has given rise to some animadversions. In answer to which I beg to remark, that whoever is conversant with history, must frequently have observed the difficulties which arise from the wanton alterations, in the names of both persons and places, by authors of different countries, and particularly by the French, who, without hesitation, accommodate every thing to the genius of their own language. Hence the names of all the eminent men of Greece, of Rome, or of Italy, are melted down, and appear again in such a form as would not in all probability have been recognised by their proper owners; Dionysius is *Dénys*, Titus Livius *Tite Live*, Horatius *Horace*, Petrarca *Petrarque*, and Pico of Mirandola *Pic de Mirandole*. As the literature which this country derived from Italy was first obtained through the medium of the French, our early authors followed them in this respect, and thereby sanctioned those innovations which the nature of our own language did not require. It is still more to be regretted that we are not uniform, even in our abuse. The name of *Horace* is familiar
to

to the English reader, but if he were told of *the three Horaces*, he would probably be at a loss to discover the persons meant, the authors of our country having commonly given them the appellation of the *Horatii*. In the instance of such names as are familiar to our early literature, we adopt with the French the abbreviated appellation; but in latter times we usually employ proper national distinctions, and instead of *Arioste*, or *Metastase*, we write, without hesitation, *Ariosto*, or *Metastasio*. This inconsistency is more sensibly felt when the abbreviated appellation of one scholar is contrasted with the national distinction of another, as when a letter is addressed by *Petrarch* to *Coluccio Salutati*, or by *Politian* to *Ermolao Barbaro*, or *Baccio Ugolini*. For the sake of uniformity, it is surely desirable that every writer should conform as much as possible to some general rule, which can only be found by a reference of every proper name to the standard of its proper country. This method would not only avoid the incongruities before mentioned, but would be productive of positive advantages, as it would in general point out the nation of the person spoken of, without the necessity of further indication. Thus, in mentioning one of the monarchs of France, who makes a conspicuous figure in the ensuing pages, I have not denominated him *Lodovico*

vico XII. with the Italians, nor *Lewis XII.* with the English, but *Louis XII.* the name which he himself recognised. And thus I have also restored to a celebrated Scottish general, in the service of the same monarch, his proper title of *d' Aubigny*, instead of that of *Obigni*, usually given him by the historians of Italy.

I cannot deliver this work to the publick without a most painful conviction, that notwithstanding my utmost endeavours, and the most sedulous attention which it has been in my power to bestow upon it, many defects will still be discoverable, not only from the omission of much important information, which may not have occurred to my inquiries, but from an erroneous or imperfect use of such as I may have had the good fortune to obtain. Yet I trust, that when the extent of the work, and the great variety of subjects which it comprehends are considered, the candid and judicious will make due allowance for those inaccuracies against which no vigilance can at all times effectually guard. With this publication, I finally relinquish all intention of prosecuting, with a view to the publick, my researches into the history and literature of Italy. That I have devoted to its completion a considerable portion of time and of labour will sufficiently appear

appear from the perusal of the following pages, and it may therefore be presumed that I cannot be indifferent to its success. But whatever inducements I may have found in the hope of conciliating the indulgence, or the favour of the publick, I must finally be permitted to avow, that motives of a different, and perhaps of a more laudable nature, have occasionally concurred to induce me to persevere in the present undertaking. Among these, is an earnest desire to exhibit to the present times an illustrious period of society; to recall the publick attention to those standards of excellence to which Europe has been indebted for no inconsiderable portion of her subsequent improvement; to unfold the ever active effect of moral causes on the acquirements and the happiness of a people; and to raise a barrier, as far as such efforts can avail, against that torrent of a corrupt and vitiated taste, which if not continually opposed, may once more overwhelm the cultivated nations of Europe in barbarism and degradation. To these great and desirable aims, I could wish to add others, yet more exalted and commendable; to demonstrate the fatal consequences of an ill directed ambition, and to deduce, from the unperverted pages of history, those maxims of true humanity, sound wisdom, and political fidelity, which

which have been too much neglected in all ages,
but which are the only solid foundations of the
repose, the dignity, and the happiness of mankind.

ALLERTON,
8th March, 1805.

CHAP. I.

1475—1493.

BIRTH of Giovanni de' Medici afterwards Leo X.—Sovereigns of Christendom—Political state of Europe—Peculiarities of the papal Government—Temporal power of the popes—Union of the spiritual and temporal authority—Advantages of the papal Government—Destination of Giovanni de' Medici to the church—His early preferments—His father endeavours to raise him to the rank of a Cardinal—Marriage of Francesco Cibo and Madalena de' Medici—Giovanni raised to the dignity of the purple—Letter from Politiano to the pope—Studies of Giovanni—Bernardo Dovizio da Bibbiena—Defects in the character of Giovanni accounted for—His father endeavours to shorten the term of his probation—Giulio de' Medici afterwards Clement VII.—Giovanni invested with the insignia of his rank—Quits Florence to reside at Rome—Eminent Cardinals then in the college—Zizim brother of the Sultan Bajazet delivered into the custody of the pope—Ermolao Barbaro patriarch of Aquileja—Rumours of approaching calamities.

GIOVANNI DE' MEDICI, afterwards supreme pontiff by the name of **LEO THE TENTH**, was the second son of **Lorenzo de' Medici**, called the Magnificent, by his wife **Clarice**, the daughter of **Giacopo Orsino**. He was born at Florence, on

CHAP. I.

1475.

Birth of Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Leo X.

VOL. I.

F

the X.

C H A P. the eleventh day of December, 1475; and most probably received his baptismal name after his paternal
 I. 1475. great uncle, Giovanni, the second son of Cosmo de' Medici, who died in the year 1461; or from Giovanni Tornabuoni, the brother of Lucretia, mother of Lorenzo de' Medici, who was then living.

At the time of the birth of Giovanni, the age of portents was not yet past; and it has been recorded with all the gravity of history, that prior to that event, his mother dreamt that she was delivered of an enormous, but docile lion; which was supposed to be a certain prognostick, not only of the future eminence of her son, but also of the name which he was to assume on arriving at the papal dignity.^a Whether the dream gave rise to the appellation, or the appellation to the dream, may admit of doubt; but although nothing appears in his infancy to justify his being compared to a lion, in his early docility he seems at least to have realized the supposed prognosticks of his mother.

The year in which Giovanni was born is distinguished in the annals of Italy as a year of peace and tranquillity, whilst almost all the rest of Europe was involved in the calamities of internal commotions or of foreign war. It was also solemnized

^a *Jovii, vita Leonis x. lib. i. Ammirato, ritratto di Leone x. in Opusc. iii. 62.*

nized as the year of Jubilee, which was thence forwards celebrated once in twenty five years.

C.H.A.P.
I.
1475.

At this period the pontifical chair was filled by Sixtus IV. who had not yet evinced that turbulent disposition which was afterwards so troublesome, not only to the family of the Medici and the city of Florence, but to all the states of Italy. The kingdom of Naples was governed by Ferdinand, the illegitimate son of Alfonso, king of Naples, Aragon, and Sicily; who had bequeathed the first of these kingdoms to his son, but was succeeded in the two latter by his brother John II. the father of another Ferdinand, who now enjoyed them, and by his marriage with Isabella, the daughter of Henry IV. of Castile, united the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile under one dominion. The states of Milan were yet held by Galeazzo Maria, the son of the great Francesco Sforza. Frederick III. had long worn the imperial crown. Louis XI. was king of France; Edward IV. of England; and the celebrated Mattia Corvino, had lately been elected by the free voice of his countrymen to the supreme dominion of Hungary.

The political system of Europe was as yet unformed. The despotick sovereign, governing a half civilized people, had in general only two principal ends in view—the supporting his authority at home by the depression of his powerful nobles, and the extending his dominion abroad by the

CHAP. I. the subjugation of his weaker neighbours. Devoted to these objects, which frequently required all their talents and all their resources, the potentates of Europe had beheld with the utmost indifference the destruction of the eastern empire and the abridgment of the christian territory, by a race of barbarians, who were most probably prevented only by their own dissensions, from establishing themselves in Italy, and desolating the kingdoms of the west. It was in vain that Pius II. had called upon the European sovereigns to unite in the common cause. The ardour of the crusades was past. A jealousy of each other, or of their own subjects, was an insuperable obstacle to his entreaties; and the good pontiff was at length convinced that his eloquence would be better employed in prevailing on the Turkish emperor to relinquish his creed and embrace christianity, than in stimulating the princes of Europe to resist his arms.^b

Nature of
the papal go-
vernment.

The establishment and long uninterrupted continuance of the papal government, may justly be considered as among the most extraordinary circumstances in the history of mankind. To the sincere catholic this indeed is the great evidence of the truth of the religion which he professes, the perpetual

^b Pii. ii. *Epist. ad Illustrissimum Mahumetem Turcorum principem, inter ejus Ep. imp. per Antonium Zarothum, Mediolan. 1487.*

perpetual miracle, which proves a constant extension of the divine favour to that church, *against which the gates of hell shall not prevail*; but they who conceive that this phenomenon, like other events of the moral world, is to be accounted for from secondary causes and from the usual course of nature, will perhaps be inclined to attribute it to the ductility and habitual subservience of the human mind, which, when awed by superstition and subdued by hereditary prejudices, can not only assent to the most incredible propositions, but can act in consequence of these convictions with as much energy and perseverance, as if they were the clearest deductions of reason or the most evident dictates of truth. Whilst the other sovereigns of Europe held their dominions by lineal succession, by choice of election, or by what politicians have denominated the right of conquest; the Roman pontiff claimed his power as the immediate vicegerent of God; and experience has shown, that for a long course of ages his title was considered as the most secure of any in Europe. Nor has the papal government, in later times, received any great trouble from the turbulence of its subjects, who, instead of feeling themselves degraded, were perhaps gratified in considering themselves as the peculiar people of a sovereign, whose power was not bounded by the limits of his own dominions, but was as extensive as christianity itself.

CHAP.
I.
1475.

Without

CHAP. Without entering upon a minute inquiry into
 I. the origin of the temporal authority of the Roman
 1475. pontiffs, it may be sufficient to observe, that even
 after they had emerged from their pristine state of
 poverty and humility, they remained for many
 ages in an acknowledged subordination to the
 Roman emperours, and to their delegates, the
 exarchates of Ravenna, to whom, when the seat
 of empire was transferred to Constantinople, the
 government of Italy was intrusted. As the power
 of the emperours declined, that of the popes in-
 creased; and in the contests of the middle ages,
 during which the Huns, the Vandals, the Imperi-
 alists, and the Franks, were successively masters
 of Italy, a common veneration among these fero-
 cious conquerors for the father of the faithful, and
 the head of the christian church, not only secured
 his safety, but enlarged his authority.^c From the
 time

Origin of the
 temporal
 power of the
 popes.

^c The coining of money by the Roman pontiffs may be considered as a mark of sovereign and independent authority; but at what precise period they began to exercise this right, is not easily ascertained. Muratori, in his *Annali d' Italia*, vol. iv. p. 464, informs us, that the popes coined money, in gold, silver, and copper, from the time of Charlemagne (about the year 800) and that the city of Rome had enjoyed that privilege *ab antiquo*. Other writers have assigned an earlier date, which opinion they have founded on a coin of Zacharia, who filled the pontifical chair from the year 740 to 751—v. *Dissertaz. del Conte Giacomo Acami dell' origine ed antichità della Zecca Pontificia*,

time of the emperor Constantine, various grants, C H A P. I.
 endowments, and donations of extensive territories, 1473.
 are said to have been conferred by different princes
 on the bishops of Rome; insomuch that there is
 scarcely any part of Italy to which they have not
 at some period asserted a claim. That many of
 these grants are supposititious, is generally acknow-
 ledged;^d whilst the validity of others, which are
 admitted

Asia, p. 8, Ed. Rom. 1752. This subject has given rise to serious controversy, even among the firmest adherents to the church. Muratori and Fontanini have embraced different opinions, which they have endeavoured to support in several learned publications, in which the ancient rights of the emperours and the popes to various parts of Italy are particularly discussed. All collectors however agree in commencing their series from Adrian I. created pope in 782, from which time Acami has given a succession of thirty four coins of different pontiffs, some of which, are however supposed, to have issued from the metropolitan sees of England, for the purpose of paying tribute to Rome.

^d The donation of Constantine, is humerously, but boldly placed by Ariosto, with the trumpery which, being lost on earth, was found by Astolfo stored up in the moon, among the prayers of the wicked, the sighs of lovers, the crowns of forgotten sovereigns, and the verses written in praise of great men.

“ Di varj fiori ad un gran monte passa ;

“ Ch’ebbe già buono odore, or puzza forte ;

C H A P. admitted to have existed, frequently rests merely
I. on the temporary right of some intruder, whose
 1475. only title was his sword, and who, in many instances, gave to the pontiff what he could no longer retain for himself. Under the colour however of these donations, the popes possessed themselves of different parts of Italy, and among the rest, of the whole exarchate of Ravenna, extending along a considerable part of the Adriatick coast, to which they gave the name of Romania, or Romagna.^c The subsequent dissensions between the popes and the emperours, the frequent schisms which occurred in the church, the unwarlike nature of the papal government, and above all the impolitick transfer

“ Questo era il dono, se però dir lece,
 “ Che Costantino al buon Silvestro fece.”

Orl. Fur. cant. 34. st. 80.

^c The validity of these donations, and particularly those of Pepin, king of France, and of his son Charlemagne, is strongly insisted on by Ammirato, who attempts to show, that the authority of the popes extended far beyond the limits of Italy; but as he appears not to have distinguished between their temporal and their ecclesiastical power, little reliance is to be placed on his opinion. *Ammir. Discorso come la Chiesa Romana sia cresciuta ne' beni temporali. Opusc. v. ii. p. 67.* Those readers who are inclined to examine more particularly into this subject may consult the *Facciculus rerum Expetendarum & Fugiendarum*, tom. i. p. 124.

transfer of the residence of the supreme pontiffs from Rome to Avignon, in the fourteenth century, combined to weaken the authority which the popes had in the course of so many ages acquired; and in particular the cities of Romagna, throwing off their dependence on the papal see, either formed for themselves peculiar and independent governments, or became subject to some successful adventurer, who acquired his superiority by force of arms. No longer able to maintain an actual authority, the Roman pontiffs endeavoured to reserve at least a paramount or confirmatory right; and as the sanction of the pope was not a matter of indifference to these subordinate sovereigns, he delegated to them his power on easy conditions, by investing them with the title of vicars of the church.¹ It was thus the family of Este obtained the dominion of Ferrara, which they had extended, in fact, to an independent principality. Thus the cities of Rimini and Cesena were held by the family of Malatesta; Faenza and Imola by the Manfredi; and many other cities of Italy became subject to petty sovereigns, who governed with despotick authority

C H A P.

I.

1475.

¹ Guicciardini, *Historia. d' Italia lib. iv.* The passage here referred to, in which the historian has traced with great ability the rise and vicissitudes of the temporal authority of the popes, is omitted in the general editions of his works, and even in that of Torrentino, *Flor.* 1561, *fo.* but may be found in those of Stoer, 1636, 1645. *Geneva.*

authority, and by their dissensions frequently rendered that fertile, but unhappy country, the theatre of contest, of rapine, and of blood.

From this period the temporal authority of the popes was chiefly confined to the district entitled the patrimony of St. Peter, with some detached parts of Umbria, and the *Marca d' Ancona*. The claims of the church were not however suffered to remain dormant, whenever an opportunity of enforcing them occurred, and the recovery of its ancient possessions had long been considered as a duty indispensably incumbent on the supreme pontiff. But although for this purpose he scrupled not to avail himself of the arms, the alliances, and the treasures of the church, yet, when the enterprise proved successful, it generally happened that the conquered territory only exchanged its former lord for some near kinsman of the reigning pontiff, who during the life of his benefactor, endeavoured to secure and extend his authority by all the means in his power.

Union of the
spiritual and
temporal au-
thority.

The Roman pontiffs have always possessed an advantage over the other sovereigns of Europe, from the singular union of ecclesiastical and temporal power in the same person, which long experience had taught them to use with the same dexterity, with which the heroes of antiquity availed themselves by turns of the shield and the spear. When schemes of ambition and aggrandizement

dizement were to be pursued, the pope, as a CHAP. 7
temporal prince, could enter into alliances, raise
supplies, and furnish his contingent of troops, so
as effectually to carry on an offensive war; but no
sooner was he endangered by defeat, and alarmed
for the safety of his own dominions, than he resorted
for shelter to his pontifical robes, and loudly called
upon all christendom to defend from violation the
head of the holy church.⁵ That these characters
were successively assumed with great address and
advantage, will sufficiently appear from the follow-
ing pages; and although some difficulties might
occasionally arise in the exercise of them, yet not-
withstanding the complaint of one of the ablest
apologists of the Roman Pontiffs, the world has
upon

⁵ Bayle, in his dictionary, *Art. Lepin* x. note p. has
some observations, rather more fanciful than solid, on this
union of spiritual and temporal authority in the same per-
son; which he concludes by relating the story of a German
bishop, who was also a count and baron of the empire, and
who having attempted to justify to a peasant the extraor-
dinary pomp which he assumed, by adverting to his tem-
poral dignity, *yes*, replied the rustick, *but when my lord
the count and baron is sent to hell, where will then be my lord
the bishop?*

⁶ “Oltre á ciò, è sì difficile l’empier con gli altri
“ principi insieme le parti di Padre nello spirituale, e di
“ competitore spesso nel temporale, che talora son ripresi
“ dalla fama come troppo interessati, ò poco caritativi
“ i pon-

CHAP. upon the whole, been sufficiently indulgent to
 I. their situation; nor has even the shedding of Chris-
 1475. tian blood been thought an invincible objection to
 the conferring on a deceased pontiff the honour of
 adoration, and placing him in the highest order of
 sainthood conferred by the church.

Some advan-
 tages of the
 papal Go-
 vernment.

It is not however to be denied, that the papal government, although founded on so singular a basis, and exercised with despotick authority, has been attended with some advantages peculiar to itself, and beneficial to its subjects. Whilst the choice of the sovereign, by the decision of a peculiar body of electors, on the one hand preserves the people from those dissensions, which frequently arise from the disputed rights of hereditary claimants; on the other hand, it prevents those tumultuous debates which too frequently result from the violence of a popular election. By this system the dangers of a minority in the governour are avoided, and the sovereign assumes the command at a time of life, when it may be presumed that passion is subdued by reason, and experience matured

“ i pontefici, perchè hanno ò difesi ò recuperati quei sudditi
 “ alla cui protezione gli obbliga il patto scambievole tra'l
 “ signore e'l vassallo.”

*Pallavicini, Istoria del Conc. di Trento. c. i. p. 47. Ed.
 Rom. 1665.*

! SAN LEONE IX.

matured into wisdom. The qualifications by which the pope is supposed to have merited the supreme authority, are such as would be most likely to direct him in the best mode of exercising it. Humility, chastity, temperance, vigilance, and learning, are among the chief of these requisites; and although some of them have confessedly been too often dispensed with, yet few individuals have ascended the pontifical throne without possessing more than a common share of intellectual endowments. Hence the Roman pontiffs have frequently displayed examples highly worthy of imitation, and have signalized themselves, in an eminent degree, as patrons of science, of letters, and of art. Cultivating, as ecclesiasticks, those studies which were prohibited or discouraged among the laity, they may in general be considered as superiour to the age in which they have lived; and among the predecessors of Leo X. the philosopher may contemplate with approbation the eloquence and courage of Leo I. who preserved the city of Rome from the ravages of the barbarian Attila; the beneficence, candour, and pastoral attention of Gregory I. unjustly charged with being the adversary of liberal studies; the various acquirements of Silvester II. so extraordinary in the eyes of his contemporaries as to cause him to be considered as a sorcerer; the industry, acuteness, and learning of Innocent III. of Gregory IX. of Innocent IV. and of Pius II. and the munificence and love of literature

CHAP.
I.
1475.

CHAP. I. nature so strikingly displayed in the character of
Nicholas V.

1478.

Causes of the
destination
of Giovanni
de' Medici to
the church.

Notwithstanding the extensive influence acquired by the Roman see, that circumstance had not, for a long course of time, induced the princes of Europe to attempt to vest the pontifical authority in any individual of their own family. Whether this forbearance was occasioned by an idea that the long course of humiliation by which alone this dignity could be obtained, was too degrading to a person of royal birth, or by a contempt for every profession but that of arms, may be a subject of doubt; but from whatever cause it arose, it appears to have been, in the fifteenth century, completely removed; almost every sovereign in Italy, and perhaps in Europe, striving with the utmost ardour to procure for their nearest relations a seat in the sacred college, as a necessary step to the pontifical chair. What the European princes endeavoured to accomplish in the persons of their own kindred, the popular governments attempted in those of their most illustrious citizens; and the favours bestowed by Paul II. upon his countrymen the Venetians, may reasonably be supposed to have operated upon the sagacious and provident mind of Lorenzo de' Medici, to induce him to attempt the establishment of the chief ecclesiastical dignity in one of his own family. Nor is it improbable, that whilst he was actuated by this motive, he was impelled by another of no less efficacy. By the resentment of
the

the papal see he had lost a much loved brother; CHAP. and although he had himself escaped with his life L. from the dagger of the assassin, yet he had experienced, from the same cause, a series of calamities, 1475. from which he was only extricated by one of the most daring expedients recorded in history. To prevent, as far as possible, the recurrence of a circumstance which had nearly destroyed the authority of his family, and to establish his children in such situations as might render them a mutual support and security to each other, in the high departments for which they were intended, were doubtless some of the motives which occasioned the destination of Giovanni de' Medici to the church, and produced those important effects upon the religion, the politicks, and the taste of Europe, which are so conspicuous in the pontificate of Leo X.

That it was the intencion of Lorenzo, from the 1482. birth of his son, to raise him eventually to the high dignity which he afterwards acquired, cannot be doubted; and the authority which he possessed in the affairs of Italy, enabled him to engage in this undertaking with the fairest prospects of success. Soon after he had attained the seventh year of his age, Giovanni de' Medici had received the tonsura, and was declared capable of ecclesiastical preferment. At this early period his father had applied to Louis XI. to confer upon him some church living. In the reply of the French king, which bears

He receives
the tonsura,
and is ap-
pointed abbot
of Fontev-
douce.

C H A P. bears date the seventeenth day of February, 1482,
 I. he thus expresses himself:—"I understand from

1482. "your letter of the thirtieth of January, the intentions you have formed respecting your son, which, if I had known them before the death of the cardinal of Rohan, I should have endeavoured to have accomplished; but I have no objection, on the next vacancy of a *bénéfice*, to do for him whatever lies in my power." ^k Accordingly,

And of Passignano.

Giovanni was, in the following year, appointed by the king, abbot of Fonte-dolce; and this was speedily followed by the investiture of the rich monastery of Passignano, bestowed upon him by Sixtus IV. who, towards the close of his days, seemed desirous of obliterating from the minds of the Medici the remembrance of his former hostility.

The particulars of this singular instance of ecclesiastical promotion, and of the additional honours bestowed upon Giovanni de' Medici, are given by Lorenzo himself, in his *Ricordi*, with great simplicity. "On the nineteenth day of May, 1483,"

1483. says he, "we received intelligence, that the king of France had, of his own motion, presented to my son Giovanni, the abbey of Fonte-dolce. "On the thirty-first, we heard from Rome, that the pope had confirmed the grant, and had rendered him capable of holding a *bénéfice*, he being now seven years of age. On the first day of June,

"Giovanni

^k *Fabronii, vita Laur. Med. in adnot. 298.*

" Giovanni accompanied me from Poggio¹ to Flo- C H A P.
 " rence, where he was confirmed by the bishop of I.
 " Arezzo,^m and received the tonsura; and from 1483.
 " thenceforth was called *Messire Giovanni*. The
 " before mentioned circumstances took place in the
 " chapel of our family. The next morning he re-
 " turned to Poggio. On the eighth day of June;
 " Jacopino, a courier, arrived with advices from
 " the king of France, that he had conferred upon
 " Messire Giovanni the archbishoprick of Aix, in
 " Provence; on which account a messenger was
 " despatched, on the same evening, to Rome, with
 " letters from the king to the pope and the cardinal
 " di Macone. At the same time despatches were
 " sent to count Girolamo, which were forwarded
 " by Zenino the courier to Forli. On the eleventh,
 " Zenino returned from the count, with letters to
 " the pope and the cardinal *S. Giorgio*, which were
 " sent to Rome by the Milanese post. On the
 " same day, after mass, all the children of the fa-
 " mily received confirmation, excepting Messire
 " Giovanni. On the fifteenth, at the sixth hour of
 " the night, an answer was received from Rome
 " that the pope had some difficulty in giving the
 " archbishoprick to Messire Giovanni, on account
 " of his youth. This answer was immediately
 " despatched

¹ *Poggio a Cajano*, a seat of Lorenzo de' Medici.

^m Gentile d' Urbino. *v. Life of Lor. de' Med. vol. i. p.*
 72. 40.

- C H A P. "despatched to the king of France. On the twentieth, we received news from Lionetto *that the*
 I. " *archbishop was not dead!* On the first day of
 1483. " March, 1484, the abbot of Passignano died, and
 1484. " a message was despatched to Giovanni Vespucci, " the Florentine ambassadour at Rome, that he " should endeavour to prevail on the pope to give " the abbey to Messire Giovanni. On the second, " he took possession of it under the authority of " the state, by virtue of the reservation granted to " him by Sixtus IV. and which was afterwards " confirmed by Innocent VIII. when my son Piero " went to pay him obedience at Rome, on his elevation to the pontificate."^a It would not be difficult to declaim against the corruptions of the Roman see, and the absurdity of conferring ecclesiastical preferments upon a child; but in the estimation of an impartial observer, it is a matter of little moment whether such a preferment be bestowed upon an infant, who is unable, or an adult, who is unwilling, to perform the duties of his office, and who, in fact, at the time of his appointment, neither intends, nor is expected, ever to bestow upon them any share of his attention.

His father attempts to raise him to the rank of cardinal.

The death of Sixtus IV. which happened on the thirteenth day of August 1484, and the elevation to the

^a The original is given in the life of Lor. de' Medici, *Appendix, vol. ii. No. lxii.*

the pontificate of Giambattista Cibò, by the name of Innocent VIII. opened to Lorenzo the prospect of speedy and more important advancement for his son. Of the numerous livings conferred on this young ecclesiastick, a particular account has been preserved;° but the views of Lorenzo were directed towards still higher preferment. In the month of November he despatched his eldest son Piero to Rome, accompanied by his uncle Giovanni Tornabuoni, with directions to promote as much as possible the interests of his brother Giovanni. In the instructions of Lorenzo to his envoys at Rome, the same object was strongly insisted on; and such arguments were constantly suggested, as were most likely

C H A P.
I.
1484.

° It appears that Giovanni was at the same time a canon of the cathedral of Florence, of Fiesole, and of Arezzo; rector of Carmignano, of Giggoli, of S. Casciano, of S. Giovanni in Valdarno, of S. Piero at Casale, and of S. Marcelino at Cacchiano; prior of Monte Varchi; precentor of S. Antonio at Florence; proposto of Prato; abbot of Monte Cassino, of S. Giovanni of Passignano, of S. Maria of Morimondo, of S. Martino, of Fonte-dolce in France, of S. Lorenzo of Coltibuono, of S. Salvatore at Vajano, of S. Bartolommeo at Anghiari, of S. Maria at Monte Piano, of S. Giuliano at Tours, of S. Giusto and S. Clement at Volterra, of S. Stefano of Bologna, of S. Michele in Arezzo, of Chiaravalle at Milan, of the diocese of Pino in Pittavia, and of the Casa Dei at Chiaramonte; and in 1510 he became archbishop of Amalfi.—“Bone Deus,” exclaims Fabroni, “quot in uno juvenē cumulata sacerdotia!” *Fabr. vita Leon. x. in adnot. p. 245.*

G H A P. likely to induce the pope to nominate Giovanni de'
I. Medici, on the first opportunity, a member of the
 1484. sacred college.

Marriage of
 Francesco Ci-
 bo and Mad-
 dalena de'
 Medici.

In the mean time, Lorenzo thought it advisable to strengthen the friendly connexion which already subsisted between himself and the pope by a union between their families. Before his adopting an ecclesiastical life, Innocent had several children, the eldest of whom, Francesco Cibò, was married in the year 1487, to Maddalena, one of the daughters of Lorenzo, a woman of great beauty and accomplishments, and who lived to share the honours enjoyed by her family in the elevation of her brother. Besides the inducements to this measure, which the pope probably found in the increasing influence and authority of Lorenzo de' Medici, the near relationship which subsisted between Maddalena and the family of the Orsini, was a powerful motive with him to conclude the match. The event was such as the pope expected. The hostility between him and the Orsini speedily subsided; and he found on many subsequent occasions the

^p Sanazzaro adverts to this circumstance in the following ironical lines.

"Innocuo priscos æquum est debere quirites:

"Progenie exhaustam restituit patriam."

Epigram. lib. i. Ep. 37. Ed. Comino, 1731.

the high importance of their attachment and their services.¹

C H A P.
I.
1487.

As the advancement of Giovanni de' Medici to the dignity of the purple, was the fortunate event which led the way to his future elevation, and to the important consequences of that elevation to the christian world, it may not be uninteresting to trace the steps by which he acquired, so early in life, that high rank. This we are enabled to do with great accuracy, from the letters of Lorenzo and his confidential correspondents, the originals of which are preserved in the archives of Florence; and which exhibit such a degree of policy and assiduity on the part of that great man, as could scarcely fail of success.

From these it appears, that early in the year 1488, the pope, who had not before received any additional members into the college, had formed the intention of making a promotion of cardinals, and had communicated his purpose to Lorenzo, to whom he had also transmitted a list of names for his remarks and approbation. Such however was the inactivity of the pontiff, that he delayed from time to time the execution of his plan. From the age and infirmities of the pope, Lorenzo was fearful

1488.
Giovanni de'
Medici, ap-
pointed car-
dinal.

¹ *Muratori, Annali d' Italia*, ix. 556.

C H A P. ful that this measure might be wholly frustrated;

I. and as he had already formed the design of pro-
 1488. curing the name of his son to be included among
 Et. 13. those of the new cardinals, he directed his envoy at
 Rome, Giovanni Lanfredini, to lose no time in pre-
 vailing upon the pope to carry his intentions into
 effect. "I observe," says he, in a letter which
 bears date the sixteenth day of June, 1488, "what
 "you mention respecting the promotion of cardi-
 "nals, to which I shall briefly reply, that this
 "event ought not to be delayed longer than can
 "possibly be avoided; for when his holiness has
 "completed it, he will be another pope than he
 "has hitherto been—because he is yet a head with-
 "out limbs, surrounded by the creatures of others;
 "whereas he will then be surrounded by his own.
 "You will therefore importune and exhort him to
 "adopt this determination as soon as possible, be-
 "cause there is danger in delay. * * As to the
 "persons nominated, I approve all those whose
 "names are marked with a point; they are the
 "same as you before mentioned to me. It seems
 "better to lay before him many, that he may have
 "an opportunity of selection. He may also grati-
 "fy me if he thinks proper."

A few months afterwards, when a promotion of
 cardinals was positively determined on, Lorenzo
 became

became more strenuous in his exertions, and omitted no solicitations or persuasions which might obtain the favour, not only of the pontiff himself, but of the cardinals, whose concurrence was, it appears, indispensable.* In a letter to the pope, which bears date the first day of October, 1488, he most earnestly entreats, that if he is ever to receive any benefit from his holiness, it may be conceded to him on that occasion, and requests his favour with no less fervency than he would from God the salvation of his soul. With equal eagerness, and to this or a similar effect, he addressed himself to all the members of the sacred college, whose interest he thought essential to his success. Where he could not obtain an absolute promise of support,

C H A P.

I.

1488.

Æt. 13.

* In the articles or concessions signed by Innocent on his election, he had solemnly promised not to raise any person to the dignity of a cardinal who had not attained thirty years of age, that such promotion should never be made in secret, that he would not create more than one from his own family, that the number should not in the whole exceed twenty four, and that he would not name any new ones till the college should be reduced to that number. *Burcard. Diarium. ap. Notices des MMS. du Roi. i. 75.*

* *Fabr. in vita Leon. x. adnot. 245.*

* Of these, his letter to Battista Zen, Cardinal of S. Maria in Portico, and nephew of Paul II. may serve as a sufficient specimen. *MMS. Florent.*

CHAP. support, he considered it as of great importance

I. to have prevented opposition. "You appear to

1488. me," says he to Lanfredini,^v "to have done no

Et. 13. "little in removing the objections of * * *. If
 "you cannot induce him to proceed further, I wish
 "you to thank him for this; and assure him, that
 "knowing his inclination, I shall owe to him the
 "same obligation for it, as I shall to others for
 "their positive favours. At the same time, if it
 "were possible, I should be highly gratified by his
 "assistance." On this important occasion Lorenzo
 availed himself greatly of the services of the
 Cardinal Ascanio, brother of Lodovico Sforza, and
 of Roderigo Borgia, then vice chancellor of the
 holy see. "I reply," says he, addressing himself
 to Lanfredini^w, "in a letter under my own hand
 "to the vice chancellor and Monsig. Ascanio.
 "The letter which they have written me, and the
 "trouble which, as you inform me, Monsig.
 "Ascanio takes every day on my behalf, merit
 "other returns than words. I well know, both
 "from your information, and my own reflections,
 "where my honour and my hopes would have
 "remained, had they not been brought to life by
 "him, and by those whom his relationship, friend-
 "ship, and connexions, have obtained for me.
 "The

^v *MMS. Florent.*

^w *MMS. Florent.*

" The difficulty of this business, and his constant C H A P.
 " diligence and attention, render the benefits he I.
 " has conferred on us so important, that they oblige 1488.
 " not only me and M. Giovanni, but all those who Et. 13.
 " belong to us; for I consider this favour in no
 " other light than if I were raised from death to
 " life." He expresses himself respecting the vice
 chancellor with equal gratitude, desiring Lanfredini
 to assure him of the sense he entertains of his
 favours, which he cannot do himself, " because in
 " effect he feels the obligation too strongly, and is
 " more desirous of repaying it, when in his power,
 " than he can possibly express."

At this critical juncture, when every hour was
 pregnant with expectation, the hopes of Lorenzo
 were cruelly, though unintentionally, disappointed
 by Lanfredini, who, having a confidence of success,
 wished to be informed by Lorenzo in what manner
 he should announce the great event. To this end
 he enclosed to Lorenzo the form of a publick letter,
 which it might be proper to send, on such an occa-
 sion, for the inspection of the citizens at large.
 Lorenzo replies*, " you will have time enough to
 " send for the form in which it may be proper to
 " announce the news. The method you took had
 " however nearly given rise to a great error; for,
 " as I read your enclosure before your letter, and
 " there

O. H. A. P. "there did not appear either the word, *copy*, or
 I. "any other indication to that effect, I thought the
 1488. "information true, and was very near making it
 Et. 13. "publick. It seems to me of little consequence
 "in what manner you communicate it. The busi-
 "ness is here so publicly spoken of, that it can-
 "not be more so. You can therefore send no
 "intelligence that is not expected by every one
 "except myself; for, I know not how it is, I have
 "never been able to confide in the event."

This however seems to have been the last
 agony which Lorenzo had to sustain in this long
 conflict, for, on the ninth day of the same month,
 he received the consolatory intelligence, that his
 son was elevated to the dignity of a cardinal, under
 the title of S. Maria in Domenica.⁷ His feelings
 on this occasion are best expressed in his own
 words, addressed to his envoy at Rome. "Thanks
 "be to God for the good news which I received
 "yesterday at the ninth hour, respecting Messire
 "Giovanni, and which appeared to me so much
 "the

⁷ This event was communicated to him in a letter from
 the cardinal of Anjou, yet preserved in the Florentine
 Archives. It is also adverted to in the Latin verses of
 Philomusus, who has there in a spirit of poetick prophecy
 foretold the future honours of his patron, which he also
 lived himself to celebrate. *Vide Carmin. Illust. Poet.*
Ital. tom VII. p. 182.

“ the greater, as it was the less expected ; it seem- C H A P.
 “ ing so far above my merits, and so difficult in . I.
 “ itself, as to be esteemed impossible. I have 1488.
 “ reason to hold in remembrance all those who Et. 13.
 “ have assisted me in this business, and shall leave
 “ a charge that they be not forgotten by those who
 “ may succeed me ; this being the greatest honour
 “ that ever our house experienced.” * * * “ I
 “ know not whether his holiness may be displeased
 “ with the demonstrations of joy and festivity which
 “ have taken place in Florence on this occasion ;
 “ but I never saw a more general or a more sincere
 “ exultation. Many other expressions of it would
 “ have occurred, but I did all in my power to pre-
 “ vent them, although I could not wholly succeed.
 “ I mention this, because the elevation of M. Gio-
 “ vanni was intended to have remained for the
 “ present a secret ; but you have made it so pub-
 “ lick in Rome, that we can scarcely incur blame
 “ in following your example ; nor have I been able
 “ to decline the congratulations of the city even to
 “ the lowest ranks. If what I have done be im-
 “ proper, I can only say that it was impossible for
 “ me to prevent it, and that I greatly wish for
 “ instructions how to conduct myself in future, as
 “ to what kind of life and manners M. Giovanni
 “ ought to observe, and what his dress and his at-
 “ tendants ought to be ; for I should be extremely
 “ sorry to begin to repay this immense debt by
 “ doing any thing contrary to the intentions of his
 “ holiness. In the mean time M. Giovanni re-
 “ mains

C H A P, " mains with me in the house, which from yesterday has been continually full of people. Advise me therefore what is to be done with him.

I.
1488. " Inform me also, when you next write, what signature or seal he ought to use. In expediting the bull, you will, I am sure, use all due diligence, and will transmit it as soon as possible for the satisfaction of our friends. I send you herewith the measure of his height, but in my eyes he appears to have grown and changed since yesterday. I trust in God you will receive due honour for your exertions, and that his holiness will be pleased with what he has done. I wish for your opinion whether I should send my son Piero, as I intended; because it seems to me that a favour of this magnitude calls for no less, than that I should pay a visit to Rome myself."

Politiano, to whom the early education of Giovanni de' Medici had been intrusted, thought it also incumbent on himself, upon this occasion, to address to the pope a letter, in which he has exhibited the character and early acquirements of his pupil in a very favourable light. Some allowance must however be made for the partiality of the tutor, and perhaps for the blandishments of the courtier; nor are we implicitly to believe, either that Louis XI. was the most pious of kings, or that Giovanni de' Medici, although from various

circum-

circumstances his proficiency was beyond his C H A P.
years, had realized in himself,

“That faultless monster which the world ne’er saw.”

I.
1488.
Æt. 13.

Agnolo Politiano to the supreme Pontiff Innocent
*VIII.**

“Although the mediocrity of my fortune, and
“the insignificance of my station in life, might
“justly deter me from addressing myself to your
“holiness, the vicar of God, and chief of the
“human race; yet, amidst the publick exultation
“of this city, and the peculiar satisfaction which I
“myself experience, I cannot refrain from express-
“ing my joy, and returning thanks to your holi-
“ness, for having adopted into the sacred college,
“Giovanni, the son of Lorenzo de’ Medici, and
“the deserved favourite of his country; and for
“having thereby conferred on this flourishing com-
“munity, and on so noble a family, such high
“honour and dignity. Allow me also to congratu-
“tulate

Letter from
Politiano to
the pope.

* In the preceding year Politiano had inscribed to the pope his elegant translation of Herodian, in return for which Innocent had not only written to him, but had presented him with 200 pieces of gold. *Polit. Ep. lib. viii. ep. 1, 2, 3, 4.* Politiano had also addressed to the pope, soon after his elevation, a fine Sapphick ode. *Polit. ep. Ald. 1498.*

CHAP. "tulate your holiness, that by this exertion of

I.

1488.

Æt. 13.

"your own discriminating judgment, you have
 "added to your other great distinctions immortal
 "honour. Not to mention Lorenzo himself,
 "whose favour you have perpetually secured by
 "this instance of your regard, where shall we find
 "a person more accomplished, in every respect,
 "than our young cardinal? I shall neither indulge
 "my own feelings, nor flatter the choice of your
 "holiness. What I shall say is known to, and
 "testified by all. He has had the happiness to be
 "so born and constituted by nature, so educated
 "and directed as to his manners, so instituted and
 "taught as to his literary acquirements, that in his
 "genius he is inferiour to no one, neither is he
 "surpassed by any of those of his own time of life
 "in industry, by his preceptors in learning, or by
 "mature age in gravity and seriousness of deport-
 "ment. The native goodness of his disposition
 "has been so industriously cultivated by his father,
 "that he has never incurred censure by the slightest
 "levity or impropriety of speech. In his whole
 "conduct and deportment there is nothing that it
 "is possible to blame. At his early period of life
 "he has attained such a maturity, that the aged
 "recognise in him the genius of the venerable
 "Cosmo, whilst we, who are younger, acknow-
 "ledge in him the very spirit of his father. His
 "disposition to religion and piety he may be said
 "to have imbibed with the milk that nourished
 "him. From his cradle he has meditated on the
 "sacred

" sacred offices of the church, to which he was CHAP.
 " destined by his provident father, even before his I.
 " birth; and the hopes entertained of him have 1488.
 " been encouraged by many favourable presages. Act. 13.
 " Such was the specimen which he had given,
 " whilst yet a child, of his virtues and talents, that
 " the reputation of them induced that most wise
 " and most pious king, Louis XI. to judge him
 " not unworthy of the high dignity of an arch-
 " bishop. You have therefore the king as your
 " precursor in the favours you have bestowed.
 " He began the web which your holiness has
 " thought proper to finish. * * * * It is not
 " requisite that you should number his years. He
 " has attained his virtues before his time. Doubt
 " not but he will fill the august purple. He will
 " not faint under the weight of the hat, nor be
 " dazzled by the splendour that surrounds him.
 " You will find in him a person not unqualified for
 " such a senate, not unequal to such a burthen.
 " Already he appears in full majesty, and seems to
 " exceed his usual stature." ^a

Whatever credit the foregoing letter may confer
 on the rhetorical talents of Politiano, it must be
 confessed that it is not calculated to increase our
 favourable opinion of his judgment; as in attempt-
 ing with too much earnestness to convince the
 pope.

^a *Polit. Ep. lib. viii. Ep. 5.*

C H A P. pope of the rectitude of his conduct, it betrays a
I: suspicion that such conduct stands in need of justifi-
1488. cation. Lorenzo himself appears to have regarded
Æt. 13. this laboured production with no great approbation. In one of his letters to Lanfredini he thus adverts to it.^b “Messire Agnolo da Monte-Pulciano writes an epistle to his holiness, which is sent herewith, superscribed by Ser Piero, returning him thanks. &c. It is pretty long—He would have been glad, had it been received in time, to have had it read in the consistory, and not merely to his holiness. I think we should proceed cautiously in delivering it to the pope, to say nothing of the rest. I submit it however, to your judgment.” As no answer to this letter appears in the works of Politiano, it is not improbable that it was suppressed, in consequence of these cautionary and well founded remarks.^c

It must however be acknowledged, that if Lorenzo de' Medici was indefatigable in obtaining
for

^b *MSS. Florent.*

^c The publick thanks of the government of Florence were also transmitted to the pope, for the honour conferred on that city by the adoption of the cardinal de' Medici into the sacred college. The letter on this occasion was written by Bartolommeo Scala, then chancellor of the republick, and is given in the *Collectio veterum aliquot monumentorum*, of Bandini,—*Arezzo*, 1752.

for his son the honours and emoluments of eccle-
 siastical preferment, he displayed an equal degree
 of assiduity in rendering him worthy of them.
 The early docility and seriousness of Giovanni, the
 proficiency which he had made in his studies, and
 the distinctions with which he had been honoured,
 entitled him to rank as an associate in those meetings
 of men of genius and learning which continually
 took place in the palace of the Medici. Among
 the professors of the Platonick philosophy the chief
 place was held by Marsilio Ficino; the authority
 of Aristotle was supported by his countryman and
 warm admirer, Joannes Argyropylus; in classical
 and polite literature Politiano had revived the age
 of Augustus;^d whilst Giovanni Pico of Mirandula,
 united in himself the various kinds of knowledge
 which were allotted to others only in distinct por-
 tions. Conversant, as Giovanni de' Medici was,
 with these men, and residing under the eye of his
 father, to whom every production of literature and
 of art was submitted as to an infallible judge, it
 was impossible that the seeds of knowledge and of
 taste, if indeed they existed, should not be early
 developed

CHAP.

I.

1489.

Æt. 14.

Education of
Giovanni de'
Medici.

^d "Nimirum ad optimum indolem optima accessit in-
 stitutio, et felicissimi ingenii tui solo, longe bellissimus
 obtigit cultor, politissimus ille *Politianus*; cujus opera non
 spinosis istis ac rixosis literis, sed veris illis, nec sine causâ
 bonis appellatis, ac mansuetioribus, ut vocant, musis es
 initiatus, &c." *Erasm. Ep. lib. ii. Ep. 1. ad. Leon. x.*

CHAP. developed in his mind. Hence it is probable that
 I. the business of education was to him, as indeed it
 1489. ought to be to every young person, the highest
 14. amusement and gratification; and that he never ex-
 perience those restraints and severities which
 create a disgust to learning instead of promoting it.
 Amidst the extensive collections of pictures, sculp-
 tures, medals, and other specimens of ancient and
 modern art, acquired by the wealth and long con-
 tinued attention of his ancestors, he first imbibed
 that relish for productions of this nature, and that
 discriminating judgment of their merits, which
 rendered him, in his future life, no less the arbiter
 of the publick taste in works of art, than he was
 of the publick creed in matters of religion.

The youthful mind of Giovanni de' Medici was
 not however wholly left to the chance of promi-
 cuous cultivation. Besides the assistance of Po-
 litiano, who had the chief direction of his studies;
 he is said to have received instructions in the Greek
 language from Demetrius Chalcondyles and Petrus
 Bigneta, both of whom were Greeks by birth.
 His education was also promoted by Bernardo
 Michelozzi, who was one of the private secretaries
 of

Mench. vita Polit. p. 98. Lettres de Langius. ap. Bayle, Dict. Art. Leo. x. Many other persons are mentioned by different authors as having been his instructors, but perhaps without sufficient foundation.

of his father, and eminently skilled both in ancient and modern literature; but his principal director in his riper studies, was Bernardo Dovizi, better known by the name of Bernardo da Bibbiena. This elegant scholar and indefatigable statesman, was born of a respectable family at Bibbiena, in the year 1470; and was sent at the age of nine years to pursue his studies in Florence. His family connexions introduced him into the house of the Medici, and such was the assiduity with which he availed himself of the opportunities of instruction there afforded him, that at the age of seventeen, he had attained a great facility of Latin composition, and was soon afterwards selected by Lorenzo as one of his private secretaries. When the honours of the church were bestowed on Giovanni de' Medici, the principal care of his pecuniary concerns was intrusted to Bernardo; in the execution of which employment he rendered his patron such important services, and conducted himself with so much vigilance and integrity, that some have not hesitated to ascribe to him, in a considerable degree, the future eminence of his pupil. Notwithstanding the serious occupations in which Bernardo was engaged, in his temper and manners he was affable, and even facetious, as appears by the representation given of him by Castiglione,

C H A P.
I.
1489.
Æt. 14.
Bernardo
Dovizi.

[†] *Panvinii, in vita Leon. x.*

C H A P. Castiglione, in his *Libro del Cortegiano*, in which
I. he is introduced as one of the interlocutors. Nor
1489. did he neglect his literary studies, of which he
Æt. 14. gave a sufficient proof in his celebrated comedy, *La Calandra*, which although not, as some have asserted, the earliest comedy which modern times have produced, deservedly obtained great reputation for its author, and merits, even at this day, no small share of approbation. The high rank which Bernardo obtained in the church, and the distinguished part which he acted in the political transactions of the times, will frequently present him to our notice. Of his character and talents different opinions have indeed been entertained; but his title to eminent merit must be admitted, whilst he claims it under the sanction of Ariosto.*

Defects in the
 character of
 Giovanni de'
 Medici.

But whilst it may be presumed, that the subsequent honours and success of Giovanni de' Medici are to be attributed in a great degree to his early education, and to the advantages which he possessed under his paternal roof, it must be allowed, that those defects in his ecclesiastical character, which were afterwards so apparent, were probably derived from the same source. The associates of Lorenzo de' Medici were much better acquainted with the writings of the poets and the doctrines of the ancient philosophers, than with
 the

* *Orland. Furioso. Cant. xxvi. st. 48.*

the dogmas of the christian faith. Of the fol- CHAP.
 lowers of Plato, Lorenzo was at this time con- I.
 sidered as the chief. He had himself arranged and 1489.
 methodised a system of theology which inculcates Æt. 14.
 opinions very different from those of the Romish
 church, and in a forcible manner points out the
 object of supreme adoration as one and indivisible.^b
 Hence, it is not unlikely, that the young cardinal
 was induced to regard with less reverence those
 doctrinal points of the established creed, the belief
 of which is considered as indispensable to the cleri-
 cal character; and hence he might have acquired
 such ideas of the supreme being, and of the du-
 ties of his intelligent creatures, as in counteracting
 the spirit of bigotry, rendered him liable to the
 imputation of indifference in matters of religion.
 A rigid economy in his household was certainly not
 one of the first qualifications of Lorenzo, and the
 example of the father might perhaps counteract his
 precepts in the estimation of the son; whose liber-
 ality in future life, too often carried to profusion,
 reduced him to the necessity of adopting those
 measures for the supplying his exigencies, which
 gave

^b *V. L'Altercazione, Capitolo.* This, together with other poems of Lorenzo de' Medici and several of his contemporaries, has been given to the publick by Messrs. Nardini and Buonaiuti, in an elegant volume under the title of "POESIE DEL MAG. LORENZO DE' MEDICI, E DI ALTRI SUOI AMICI E CONTEMPORANEI." Londra, 1801. 4to

CHAP. I. gave rise to consequences of the utmost importance to the christian world. From the splendid exhibitions which were frequently displayed in the city of Florence, he probably derived that relish for similar entertainments which he is supposed to have carried, during his pontificate, to an indecorous, if not to a culpable excess; whilst the freedom and indecency of the songs with which the spectacles of Florence were accompanied,¹ of many of which Lorenzo was himself the author, could scarcely have failed to banish at intervals that gravity of carriage which the young cardinal was directed to support, and to sow those seeds of dissipation which afterwards met with a more suitable climate in the fervid atmosphere of Rome.

Repairs to
the academy
at Pisa.

The nomination of Giovanni de' Medici to the dignity of cardinal, was accompanied by a condition that he should not assume the insignia of his rank, or be received as a member of the college for the space of three years. This restriction was considered by Lorenzo as very unfavourable to his views. His remonstrances were however ineffectual; and as the pontiff had expressed his wishes, that during this probationary interval, Giovanni should pursue the studies of theology and ecclesiastical

¹ The *Canti Carnascialeschi*, and *Canzone a ballo*, of which some account is given in the *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*. i. 304. 307. 4to. ed.

siastical jurisprudence, the young cardinal left C. H. A. P. Florence, and repaired to Pisa, where by the exer- L. tions of Lorenzo, the academy had lately been 1489, reestablished with great splendour. At this place Et. 14. he had the advantage of receiving instructions from Filippo Decio and Bartolommeo Sozzini, the most celebrated professors of civil and pontifical law in Italy.* Whilst a resident in Florence, he had frequently visited the monastery of Camaldoli, where he formed an intimacy with Pietro Delfinio, and Paullo Justiniano; the former of whom he regarded as his model and instructor, the latter as a second parent. The advantages which he received in his youth from this society were not forgotten in his riper years, when he conferred many favours on the monastery, acknowledging with great satisfaction, that he "had not only spent much of his "time, but had almost received his education "there."¹

Whilst Giovanni de' Medici, by a constant His father endeavours to shorten his probation. intercourse with men of rank, talents, and learning, was thus acquiring a fund of information, and a seriousness of deportment much beyond his years, his

* *Fabr. vita Leon. x. p. 10.*

¹ " — Adolescentiæ suæ tempore, non solum versatus, sed pene educatus fuerit."

Fabr. in vita Leon. x. p. 10.

CHAP. his father was indefatigable in his endeavours to
 I. prevail on the pope to shorten the period of his
 1496. probation. Piero Alamanni, one of the Florentine
 envoys at Rome, in a letter which bears date the
 eighth day of January, 1490,^m thus addresses Lo-
 renzo. “ I made my acknowledgments to his
 “ holiness for the favours received from him in the
 “ person of M. Giovanni, giving him to under-
 “ stand how agreeable they were to all the citi-
 “ zens of Florence, and how highly they esteemed
 “ the obligation.” I then ventured, in terms of
 “ the utmost respect and civility, to touch upon
 “ that part of the business, the accomplishment
 “ of which is so earnestly desired, the publick
 “ assumption of M. Giovanni; alleging all the
 “ reasons which you suggested to me, but at
 “ the same time assuring him that the city of
 “ Florence, and you in particular, would be
 “ perfectly satisfied with his determination. In
 “ reply he spoke at considerable length; in the
 “ first place observing, that the mode which
 “ he had prescribed was intended to answer the
 “ best purposes, as he had before explained by
 “ means of Pier Filippo (Pandolfini). He then
 “ entered on the commendation of M. Giovanni,
 “ and spoke of him as if he had been his own son,
 “ observing, that he understood that he had con-
 “ ducted

^m *Fabr. in vita Laur. Med. in adnot; p. 301.*

" ducted himself with great propriety at Pisa, and C H A P.
 " had obtained the superiority in some disputation, I.
 " which seemed to give his holiness great plea- 1490.
 " sure. At last he expressed himself thus : *Leave* Æt. 15.
 " *the fortunes of M. Giovanni to me, for I consider*
 " *him as my own son, and shall perhaps make his*
 " *promotion publick when you least expect it ; for*
 " *it is my intention to do much more for his interest*
 " *than I shall now express."* In order to promote
 this business, and to try the temper of the cardinals,
 Lorenzo despatched to Rome his kinsman Rinaldo
 Orsini, archbishop of Florence, but he derived
 no advantage from this measure ; and indeed from
 the letters of the good prelate on this subject, it
 appears, that he was but ill qualified for the in-
 trigues of a court.ⁿ The motives which induced
 Innocent to persevere in the terms which he had
 prescribed, are more fully disclosed in a letter from
 Pandolfini to Lorenzo, dated the nineteenth day
 of October, 1490 ;^o from which it appears, that
 the pope could not admit Giovanni into the college
 of cardinals without either giving offence to others
 who had not been received, or receiving the whole,
 which he did not think proper to do ; as he con-
 sidered the state of suspense in which the college
 was kept, as favourable to his views and interests.

During

ⁿ MSS. Florent.

^o Fabr. vita Laur. in adnot. ft. 302.

C H A P. During the early years of Giovanni de' Medici,
 I. he had a constant companion and fellow student in
 1490. his cousin Giulio, the natural son of Giuliano de'
 Et. 15. Medici, who had been assassinated in the horrid
 Giulio de' conspiracy of the Pazzi.* The disposition of
 Medici, prior Giulio leading him when young to adopt a mili-
 of Capua. tary life, he had been early enrolled among the
 knights of Jerusalem; and as this profession united
 the characters of the soldier and the priest, he was
 soon afterwards, at the solicitation of Lorenzo de'
 Medici, endowed by Ferdinand, king of Naples,
 with the rich and noble priory of Capua.† Grave
 in his deportment, steady in his family attachments,
 and vigilant in business, Giulio devoted himself
 in a particular manner to the fortunes of Giovanni,
 and became his chief attendant and adviser through-
 out all the vicissitudes of his early life. On the
 elevation of Giovanni to the pontificate, the ser-
 vices

* Ammirato (*Opusc.* iii. 108.) places the birth of Giulio one month, and Machiavelli (*Stor. Fior. lib.* viii.) several months, after the death of his father. It appears, however from yet more authentick documents, that he was born a year before that event, viz. in 1477; and was consequently two years younger than his cousin Giovanni de' Medici. *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici* v. i. 196. 4to. ed. Panvinus, the continuator of Platina, in his life of Clement VII. has followed, in this respect, the erroneous accounts of the Italian historians.

† Ammirato *Opusc.* v. iii. 102. MSS. Florent.

vices of Giulio, who was soon afterwards raised to the rank of cardinal, became yet more important; and he is, with great reason, supposed not only to have carried into execution, but to have suggested, many of the political measures adopted by Leo, and to have corrected the levity and prodigality of the pope by his own austerity, prudence, and regularity. It did not however appear, on the subsequent elevation of Giulio to the pontificate by the name of Clement VII. that he possessed in so eminent a degree those qualities for which the world had given him credit; and, perhaps, the genius and talents of Leo had contributed no less towards establishing the reputation of Giulio, than the industry and vigilance of the latter had concurred in giving credit to the administration of Leo X.

C H A P.

I.

1490.

Æt. 15.

The long expected day at length arrived, which was to confirm to Giovanni de' Medici his high dignity, and to admit him among the princes of the christian church. The ceremonial of the investiture was intrusted to Matteo Bosso, superiour of the monastery at Fiesole, whose probity and learning had recommended him to the favour of Lorenzo de' Medici, and who has thus recorded the particulars of the investiture,^r which took place
on

Giovanni de'
Medici re-
ceives the
insigna of his
rank.

^r The original is given from the *Recuperationes Fesulanae* of Matteo Bosso—in App. to the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici. vol. ii. No, 65. 4to. ed.

CHAP. on the ninth day of March, 1492. “ On the even-
 I. “ ing of the preceding day, Giovanni ascended the
 1492. “ hill of Fiesole to the monastery, simply clad, and
 Et. 17. “ with few companions. In the morning, being
 “ Sunday, Giovanni Pico of Mirandula and Jacopo
 “ Salviati, who had married Lucretia, one of the
 “ daughters of Lorenzo, arrived at the monastery
 “ with a notary, and accompanied the young car-
 “ dinal to the celebration of mass, where he took
 “ the holy sacrament with great devotion and
 “ humility. The superiour then bestowed his
 “ benediction on the sacred vestments, and receiv-
 “ ing the bull or brief of the pope, declared that
 “ the time therein limited for the reception of
 “ the cardinal was expired ; expressing at the
 “ same time his most fervent vows for the honour
 “ of the church, and the welfare of the cardinal,
 “ his father, and his country. He then invested
 “ him with the *pallium*, or mantle, to which he
 “ added the *biretum*, or cap usually worn by car-
 “ dinals, and the *galerus*, or hat, the distinctive
 “ emblem of their dignity, accompanying each
 “ with appropriate exhortations, that he would use
 “ them to the glory of God and his own salvation ;
 “ after which the friars of the monastery chaunted
 “ at the altar the hymn, *Veni Creator.*” The
 cardinal having thus received a portion of the apos-
 tolick powers, immediately tried their efficacy, by
 bestowing an indulgence on all those who had
 attended at the ceremony, and on all who should
 on the anniversary of that day, visit the altar at Fie-
 sole.

sole. The company then retired to a repast ; after which Piero de' Medici, the elder brother of the cardinal, arrived from the city, accompanied by a party of select friends, and mounted on a horse of extraordinary size and spirit, caparisoned with gold. In the mean time an immense multitude, as well on horseback as on foot, had proceeded from the gate of S. Gallo towards Fiesole ; but having received directions to stop at the bridge on the Mugnone, they were there met by the cardinal, who was conducted by the prelates and chief magistrates of the city towards the palace of the Medici. On his arrival at the church of the *Annunciata*, he descended from his mule, and paid his devotions at the altar. In passing the church of the *Reparata*, he performed the same ceremony, and proceeded from thence to his paternal roof. The crowds of spectators, the acclamations, illuminations and fireworks, are all introduced by the good abbot into his faithful picture ; and the rejoicings on this event may be supposed to be similar to those which celebrate, with equal delight, a royal marriage, a blood stained victory, or a long wished for peace.

On the twelfth day of March, 1492, the cardinal de' Medici quitted Florence, for the purpose of paying his respects to the pope, and establishing his future residence at Rome. He was accompanied to the distance of two miles from the city by a great number of the principal inhabitants, and

Quits Florence to reside at Rome.

CHAP. on the evening of the same day he arrived at his
I. abbey of Pasignano, where he took up his abode
1492. for the night. His retinue remained at the neigh-
Est. 17. bouring town of Poggibonzo, whence they pro-
ceeded the next morning, before the cardinal, to
Siena. The inhabitants of that place being thus
apprized of his approach, sent a deputation to attend
him into the city, where, for several days, he
experienced every possible mark of attention and
respect; which he returned with a degree of urba-
nity and kindness that gained him the esteem and
affection of all who saw him. From Siena he
proceeded by easy stages towards Rome, having
on his way been entertained by his relations of the
Orsini family. At Viterbo he was met by his
brother in law Francesco Cibò, son to the pope,
who with many attendants, had waited his approach,
and accompanied him to Rome, where he arrived
on the twenty second day of March, in the midst
of a most abundant shower of rain. Notwithstand-
ing the inclemency of the weather, he was met by
many persons of rank, who attended him to the
monastery *S. Maria in Popolo*, where he reposed
the first night after his arrival. On the following
morning, all the cardinals then in Rome came to
visit him, and immediately led him to the pope,
who received him in full consistory, and gave him
the holy kiss; after which he was greeted with a
similar mark of respect from each of the cardinals,
and his attendants were permitted to kiss the feet
of the pope. On his return to his residence, the
rain

rain still continued to pour down in copious torrents, and as the luxurious convenience of a modern chariot was then unknown, the cardinal and his numerous attendants, were almost overwhelmed in their peregrinations. In the performance of these ceremonies, we are assured by one of his countrymen, that he surpassed the expectations of the spectators ; and that in his person and stature, no less than by the decorum of his behaviour, and the propriety of his language, he displayed the gravity of a man, and supported the dignity of a prelate. Such are the authentick particulars of the first entry into Rome, of one who was destined to revive her ancient splendour. The dignity of history may perhaps reject the unimportant narrative of processions and ceremonials ; but the character of an individual is often strongly marked by his conduct on such occasions ; and the interest which that conduct generally excites, is a sufficient proof, that it is considered by the publick as no improbable indication of his future life and fortunes.

C H A P.
I.
1492.
Æt. 17.

Notwithstanding the numerous avocations which engaged the cardinal on his arrival at Rome, he did not fail to communicate to his father every particular which occurred. In reply, Lorenzo transmitted to him that excellent and affectionate letter of paternal advice, which may with confidence be referred to as a proof of the great talents, and uncommon sagacity of its author ; and which,

as

C H A P. as having been written only a very short time
 I. before his death, has been, not inelegantly, com-
 1492. pared to the last musical accents of the dying
 Æt. 17. swan.*

Cardinals of
 eminence in
 the college.

At the time when Giovanni de' Medici took his seat in the sacred college, it was filled by many men of acknowledged abilities, but of great diversity of character; several of whom afterwards acted an important part in the affairs of Europe. The eldest member of the college was Roderigo Borgia, who had enjoyed upwards of thirty five years the dignity of the purple, to which he had, for a long time past added that of vice chancellor of the holy see. He was descended from the Lenzuoli, a respectable family of the city of Valencia in Spain, but on the elevation to the pontificate of his maternal uncle, Alfonso Borgia, by the name of Calixtus III. he was called to Rome, where, changing his name of Lenzuoli to that of Borgia, he was first appointed archbishop of Valencia, and afterwards cardinal of S. Nicolo, being then only twenty five years of age. The private life of Roderigo had been a perpetual disgrace to his ecclesiastical functions. In adhering to his vow of celibacy, he had alleviated its severity by an intercourse with a Roman lady of the name of Vanozza, who, by the beauty,

* *Fabr. in vita Laur. Med. Aph. p. 312*; and for this letter, *v. Life of Lor. de' Med. ii. 146.*

beauty of her person, and the attractions of her manners, had long possessed the chief place in his affections. His attachment to her appears, however, to have been sincere and uniform, and although his connexion was necessarily disavowed, he regarded her as a legitimate wife. By her he had several children, to whose education and advancement he paid great attention. Notwithstanding the irregularity of his private life, his acquaintance with the civil law, and with the politicks of the times, had procured him the honour of many important embassies, on one of which he had been deputed by the pope, to accommodate the differences that had arisen between the kings of Portugal and of Aragon, in respect of their claims on the crown of Castile. Roderigo was not, however, formed by nature for a mediator, and returning without having effected the object of his mission, he had nearly perished by shipwreck in the vicinity of Pisa, one of the vessels which accompanied him having been wholly lost in a violent storm, with one hundred and eighty persons on board, among whom were three bishops, and many other men of rank and learning. If the character of Roderigo, who afterwards became supreme pontiff by the name of Alexander VI. is to be taken on the implicit credit of contemporary historians, this calamity was not greatly alleviated by the escape of the cardinal; on the contrary, had he shared the same fate, his destruction would have been a sufficient compen-

CHAP.
I.

1492.

Æt. 17.

C H A P. compensation to the world for the loss of all the
 I. rest.

1492.

At. 17. Another member of the college was Francesco Piccolomini, the nephew of Pius II. the celebrated Eneas Sylvius. He had also long enjoyed his dignity, having been created cardinal by his uncle in the year 1460, when only seventeen years of age. The purity of his life, the regularity of his conduct, and his zeal in discharging the duties of his station, formed a striking contrast to the profligacy and effrontery of Roderigo Borgia, and occasioned him to be chosen by his colleagues to heal those wounds which Roderigo had, in the course of his pontificate, inflicted on the christian world; but the short space of time in which he administered the affairs of the church, under the name of Pius III. frustrated the hopes which had been formed on his elevation. Among those who had been nominated by Sixtus IV. was Giuliano della Rovere, cardinal of *S. Pietro in Vincola*. The ambition and military spirit of this prelate seemed to have marked him out for a different employment; but in those days the crosier and the sword were not incompatible, and Giuliano made his way by the latter, rather than the former, to the supreme dignity which he afterwards enjoyed, by the name of Julius II. By the same nomination there still sat in the college, Raffaele Riario, cardinal of *S. Giorgio*, who, under the directions of his great uncle Sixtus IV. had acted
 a prin-

a principal part in the bloody conspiracy of the Pazzi. In assuming his seat among the fathers of the christian church, Giovanni de' Medici therefore, found himself associated with one who had assisted in the murder of his uncle, and attempted the life of his father; but the youth and inexperience of Riario, had alleviated the enormity of a crime perpetrated under the sanction of the supreme pontiff, and subsequent transactions had occurred between the families of the pope and of the Medici, which might have obliterated the remembrance of this event, had not the pallid countenance of the cardinal occasionally recalled it to mind.* Among those of royal or of noble birth, the principal rank, after the death of Giovanni d'Aragona, son of Ferdinand king of Naples, was due to Ascanio, brother of Lodovico Sforza, who supported the dignity of his office with great splendour. The families of the Orsini and the Colonna, generally maintained a powerful interest in the consistory, and the noble family of the Caraffa, which has long ranked as one of the principal in the kingdom of Naples, had also a representative in the person of Oliviero Caraffa, who had been nominated by Paul II. and was one of the most respectable members in the college.

Among the cardinals who had been nominated by Innocent VIII. at the same time with Giovanni de'

* *V. Life of Lor. de' Med.* i. 189.

C H A P. de' Medici, was Pierre d'Aubusson, grand master
I. of Rhodes, upon whom that honour had been con-
1492. ferred as a reward for having surrendered into the
Æt. 17. custody of the pope, an illustrious Turkish fugi-
 tive, who had been compelled, by the rage of fra-
 ternal resentment, to seek for safety among those
 of a different nation and a different faith. On the
 death of Mahomet, in the year 1482, that ferocious
 conqueror left his extensive dominions to his two
 sons, Bajazet and Zizim. Bajazet was tempted to
 avail himself of the powerful plea of primogeniture
 to the exclusion of his brother, who had endea-
 voured by personal merit, to compensate for the
 pretensions of seniority. The principal leaders of
 the Turkish troops were divided in their attach-
 ments to the two brothers, and perhaps that circum-
 stance, rather than the courage or conduct of the
 duke of Calabria, delivered Italy from the devasta-
 tion with which it was threatened by the Turks,
 when they had possessed themselves of the city of
 Otranto. After a struggle of some years and
 several bloody engagements, victory declared for
 the elder brother, and Zizim, to avoid the bow
 string, threw himself into the hands of the grand
 master of Rhodes, whilst his wife and children
 sought a refuge in Egypt, under the protection of
 the Sultan. The reception which he met with was
 highly honourable both to himself and his protector;
 but the grand master, conceiving that his longer
 continuance at Rhodes might draw down upon the
 island the whole power of the Turkish state, sent
 him

Zizim, bro-
 ther of the
 Sultan Baja-
 zet, deliver-
 ed into the
 custody of
 the pope.

him to France, whence he was soon afterwards transferred to Rome, into which city he made his publick entry on the thirteenth day of March, 1489. Considerations of policy, if not of humanity, induced Innocent to receive him with great kindness; and Francesco Cibò, with a long train of nobility, was deputed to attend him into the city. On his being admitted to an audience of the pope, in full consistory, he deranged the solemnity of the ceremony; for, notwithstanding the instructions which he had received, to bend his knees and kiss the feet of his holiness, he marched firmly up to him, and applied that mark of respect to his shoulder. A chamber in the apostolick palace was allotted for his residence, and a guard appointed, which, under the pretext of doing him honour, was directed to prevent his escape. In this situation an attempt was made to destroy the Turkish prince, by Cristoforo Castagno, a nobleman of the *Marca d'Ancona*, who having entered into stipulations for an immense reward, by the terms of which, among other advantages, he was to be invested with the government of the island of Negroponte, repaired to Rome, for the purpose of executing his treacherous task. Some suspicions, however, arose; and it being discovered that he had recently returned from Constantinople, he was apprehended by order of the pope, and confessed, upon the rack, his atrocious intentions. Those apprehensions which Bajazet could not extinguish whilst his brother was living, he endeavoured to alleviate by prevailing on
the

CHAP.
I.
1492.
Æt. 17.

C H A P. the pope to retain him in secure custody, for which
 I. he repaid him by the bribery of christian relicks,
 1402. and the more substantial present of considerable
 Et. 17. sums of money; and Zizim accordingly remained
 a prisoner at Rome until the ensuing pontificate of
 Alexander VI."

Notwith-

" On this occasion the Turkish emperor transmitted to the pope the head of the spear which pierced the side of Jesus Christ. This relick, according to an ancient chronicle, had been preserved at Constantinople before the capture of that place by the Turks, where it had been concealed by a citizen, from whom it was purchased by the emperor, for 70,000 ducats. Some doubts arose among the members of the college, as to the authenticity of this relick, it being contended by some, that the true spear was at Nuremberg, and by others, that it was preserved in the *Sainte Chapelle* at Paris; but Innocent disregarded their objections, and directed that the present should be received in a solemn procession, in which it was carried by the pope himself, on the day of Ascension, enclosed in a case of crystal. He was, however, so fatigued with the labour, and so oppressed by the tumults of the crowd, that he was unable to finish the ceremony. *Burcard. Diar. ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi.* i. 94. The rage for collecting relicks, seems at this period to have been at its height. In the official letters of Bartolommeo Scala, as chancellor of the Florentine Republick, we find one addressed to the grand Turk, requesting his interference with the inhabitants of Ragusa, to induce them to deliver up the left arm of St. John the Baptist, which they had intercepted in its way to Florence. *Band. Monument.* p. 17.

Notwithstanding the tranquillity which Italy had C H A P.
 for some time enjoyed, the rumours of approaching I.
 calamities were not unfrequent. Those alarms and 1492.
 denunciations which have generally preceded great Æt. 17.
 publick commotions, although they may not arise Rumours of
publick cala-
mities.
 from any supernatural interposition, are not always
 to be wholly disregarded. On the approach of
 the storm, the cattle, by a native instinct, retire to
 shelter; and the human mind may experience a
 secret dread, resulting from a concurrence of cir-
 cumstances, which although not amounting to
 demonstration, may afford strong conviction of
 approaching evils, to a person of a warm and en-
 thusiastick temperament. Those impressions which
 he is ready to impart, the publick is prepared to
 receive; and the very credulity of mankind is itself
 a proof of impending danger. Whilst the city of Flo-
 rence trembled at the bold and terrifick harangues
 of Savonarola, who was at this time rising to the
 height of his fatal popularity, a stranger is said to
 have made his appearance at Rome, who, in the
 habit of a mendicant, and with the appearance of
 an idiot, ran through the streets, bearing a crucifix,
 and foretelling, in a strain of forcible eloquence,
 the disasters that were shortly to ensue; particu-
 larly to Florence, Venice, and Milan. With a
 precision, however, which a prudent prognostica-
 tor should always avoid, he ventured to fix the
 exact time when these disorders were to commence;
 and had the still greater folly to add, that an angelick
 shepherd would shortly appear, who would collect
 the

CHAP. the scattered flock of true believers into the heavenly fold. But the prescribed period having elapsed, the predictions of the enthusiast were disregarded; and he had the good fortune to sink into his original obscurity, without having experienced that fate, which has generally attended alike the prophets and pseudo-prophets of all ages and all nations.

CHAP. II.

1492.

STATE of literature in Rome—Pomponius Letus—Callimachus Experiens—Paolo Cortese—Serafino D'Aquila—State of literature in other parts of Italy—Neapolitan academy—Giovanni Pontano—His Latin poetry compared with that of Politiano—Giacopo Sanazzaro—His Arcadia—And other writings—Enmity between the Neapolitan and Florentine scholars—Cariteo—Other members of the Neapolitan academy—State of literature in Ferrara—The two Strozzi—Boiardo—Ariosto—Francesco Cieco—Nicolo Lelio Cosmico—Guidubaldo da Montefeltri duke of Urbino—Francesco Gonzaga marquis of Mantua—Battista Mantuano—Lodovico Sforza encourages men of talents—Lionardo da Vinci—Eminent scholars at the court of Milan—The Bentivogli of Bologna—Codrus Urceus—Petrus Crinitus—Aldo Manuzio, his acquaintance with Alberto Pio, lord of Carpi, and Pico of Mirandula—His motives for undertaking to print and publish the works of the ancients—Establishes his press at Venice, and founds an academy there—Progress and success of his undertaking.

ALTHOUGH many causes concurred to render *the City*, as Rome was then emphatically called, the chief place in Italy, yet it was not at this time distinguished by the number or proficiency of those scholars whom it produced or patronised. An

CHAP.
II.
1492.
Æt. 17.

C H A P. attempt had been made in the pontificate of Paul II.

II.

1492.

Æt. 17.

State of li-
terature in
Rome.

Pomponius
Letus.

to establish an academy, or society for the research of antiquities; but the jealousy of that haughty and ignorant priest had defeated its object, and consigned the wretched scholars to the dungeon or the rack. Among those who had survived his barbarity was Julius Pomponius Letus, who by his various writings and indefatigable labours, had at this early period been of no inconsiderable service to the cause of literature. To the testamentary kindness of Bartolommeo Platina, who had been his companion in his studies, and his fellow sufferer in his misfortunes, and who died in the year 1481, Pomponius was indebted for a commodious and handsome residence in Rome, surrounded with pleasant gardens and plantations of laurel, where he yet lived at an advanced age, devoted to the society of his literary friends. His associate

Filippo

^a Pomponius derived his origin from Calabria, and is supposed to have been of illegitimate birth; but his parentage, and even his real name, have escaped the researches of his admirers. The appellation of Julius Pomponius Letus he doubtless assumed as an academical or scholastick distinction; but the name of Letus was sometimes exchanged for that of *Fortunatus*, or *Infortunatus*, as the circumstances of his situation seemed to require; and Vossius supposes that Julius Pomponius Sabinus is no other than the same person. (*de Hist. Latines*, lib. iii. p. 615.) From the letters of Politiano, it appears that a frequent

Filippo Buonaccorsi, better known by his academic name of *Callimachus Experiens*, had quit-
ted

C H A P.
II.
1492.
Æt. 17.

frequent communication subsisted between these two eminent scholars, and that Pomponius was accustomed to furnish his learned friend with such curious monuments of antiquity as his researches supplied. We also learn from Crinitus, that Pomponius transmitted to Lorenzo de' Medici an antique marble, which exhibited the order of the months of the year, and of the Roman calendar; and the frequent commemoration of the family of the Medici, in the letters of Pomponius, manifests the good understanding that subsisted between them, which was probably increased by the arrival of the cardinal in Rome. The works of Pomponius are very numerous, and many of them have frequently been reprinted; but his most useful production is his description of the antiquities of Rome. Erasmus commends the unaffected elegance of his style. "Pomponius Lætus, elegantia Romanâ contentus, nihil affectavit ultra." Bartolommeo Martiano (*diss. Voss. ii. 242.*) has justly appreciated the merits of this early scholar, whom he ranks with Tortelli and Blondo. "Scripsere nulli pene discrimine, vera pariter et falsa, apta atque inepta; tamen eos qui primi omnium hanc scribendi provinciam aggressi sunt, ob eam causam non indignos laude existimavimus, quod ad plura utilioraque inveniendâ viam posteris ostendisse videmus." To Pomponius we are also indebted for the earliest editions of several of the Roman classics, and among others, *Terentius Varro*, Ven. 1474. fo. *Silius Italicus*, Romæ, 1471, fo. *Quintus Curtius*, Romæ, per *Georgium Laver*, absque anni nota. *Columella*, published with the *Rei Rusticæ Scriptores*, Bonon. 1494, where he styles himself Pomponius Fortunatus, in consequence of which he is cited by the bibliographer, de jure, as a distinct author. *Bibliogr. Instr. N°.* 1527.

C H A P. ted Italy under the impressions of terrou, excited
II. by the cruelty of Paul, and sought a refuge in Po-
 1492. land; where, under Casimir and John Albert, the
 Æt. 17. successive sovereigns of that country, he enjoyed
 Callimachus
 Experiens. for several years some of the chief offices of the
 state. The distinguished favours bestowed on him
 by those princes could not fail of exciting the re-
 sentment of their subjects, who were jealous of
 the interference of a foreigner and a fugitive; but
 the virtue or the good fortune of Callimachus were
 superiour to the attacks of his adversaries, and he
 retained his eminent station, with undiminished
 honour, to the close of his days.^b

But

^b This illustrious scholar was born at San Gemignano, of a noble family, in the year 1437. On associating himself with Pomponius in the Roman academy, he relinquished his family name, and adopted that of *Callimachus*, which he probably thought expressed in Greek the same idea as Buonaccorsi in Italian. His addition of *Experiens* is conjectured by Zeno to have arisen from the vicissitudes which he met with in life; but this is to suppose, that he did not assume it till after those vicissitudes had taken place. It is more probable that he merely meant to infer, that all true knowledge must be founded on experience. His flight to Poland is thus adverted to by Cantalicio, a contemporary poet, and prelate of the church. It must be premised, that the name of Paul II. was Pietro Barbo.

“Callimachus, Barbos fugiens ex urbe furores,

“Barbara quæ fuerant regna, Latina fecit.”

His history of the affairs of Hungary, which he wrote at
 the

But although the misfortunes which had befallen this early institution, had considerably damped the spirit of improvement at Rome, yet the disaster was in some degree repaired by the talents of Paolo Cortese; who, at an early period of life, had signalized himself by his dialogue *De hominibus doctis*, which he had inscribed to Lorenzo de' Medici.^c The approbation which Politiano expressed of this youthful production, was such as that great scholar was

C H A P.

II.

1492.

Æt. 17.

Paolo Cortese.

the instance of the great Mattia Corvino, is preferred by Jovius to any historical work which had appeared since the days of Tacitus. *Voss. de Hist. Lat. lib. iii, p. 619.* He died at Cracow, in the year 1496. His remains were deposited in a tomb of bronze, with the following inscription :

PHILIPPUS CALLIMACHUS EXPERIENS, natione *Thuscus*, vir doctissimus, utriusque fortuna exemplum imitandum, atque omnis virtutis cultor præcipuus, divi olim CAZIMIRI et JOHANNIS ALBERTI, Polonia regum, secretarius acceptissimus, Relictis ingenii, ac rerum a se gestarum, pluribus monumentis, cum summo omnium bonorum mærore, et regia domus, atque hujus reipub. incommodo, anno salutis nostræ, MCCCXCVI. calendis Novembris, vita decedens, hic sepultus est.

^c The dedicatory epistle, is as honourable to the talents of the author as to the character of the patron. The work itself met with great applause; and the friends of Cortese advised him to publish it; notwithstanding which it remained in MS. till the year 1734, when it was given to the publick by Manni, from a copy found by Alex. Politi, at S. Gemignano.

C H A P. was seldom induced to bestow; not because he
 II. was jealous of the talents of others, but because
 1492. he was sincere in his commendation of their works,
 Æt. 17. and was enabled, by his own proficiency, to judge
 of their merits and defects. Some years afterwards,
 when Cortese was appointed one of the apostolick
 notaries, a new institution was formed by him, the
 members of which met under his own roof, and
 passed their time, without formal restrictions, either
 in the perusal of such works as his elegant library
 supplied, or in conversation on literary topics.
 Besides his treatise before mentioned, he was the
 author of many other works;^d but his premature
 death prevented the world from reaping the full
 fruits of his talents and his labours.

Serafino
 d'Aquila.

Among those who attended the literary meetings
 of Cortese, was the poet Serafino d'Aquila. At a
 time when the Italian language was yet struggling
 to divest itself of its impurities and defects, the
 works

^d Among these are his treatise *De Cardinalatu*, and several theological works. *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vol. vi. par. 1, p. 85, 232.* In another department of letters, he was however excelled by his brother Alessandro, who was one of the most elegant Latin poets of that period, as appears by his heroick poem, entitled *Laudes bellicæ Matthias Corvini Hungaria regis.* *Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. iii. 157.* From this piece it appears, that Alessandro had followed the fortunes of this great prince, who was not excelled in his love of literature by any monarch of his time.

works of Serafino were not without some share of C H A P.
 merit. He was born at Aquila, in Abruzzo, of a II.
 respectable family, and passed a part of his youth- 1492.
 ful years in the court of the count of Potenza; 17
 where he acquired a knowledge of musick. Re-
 turning to his native place, he applied himself for
 three years to the study of the works of Dante and
 of Petrarca, after which he accompanied the cardinal
 Ascanio Sforza to Rome. During his whole life
 Serafino seems to have changed the place of his
 residence as often as the favours of the great held
 out to him a sufficient inducement. Hence we
 find him successively in the service, or at the courts
 of the king of Naples, the duke of Urbino, the
 marquis of Mantua, the duke of Milan, and finally
 of Cesar Borgia. Nor must we wonder, that
 Serafino was sought for as a companion, to alleviate
 the anxiety, or banish the languor of greatness;
 for he superadded to his talent for poetical compo-
 sition, that of singing extempore verses to the lute,
 and was one of the most celebrated *Improvvisatori*
 of his time. This circumstance may sufficiently
 explain the reason of the superiour degree of repu-
 tation which he obtained during his life time, to
 that which he has since enjoyed.*

Such

* The works of Serafino were often reprinted in the
 early part of the sixteenth century. The first edition is
 that of Rome, 1503; but that of the Giunti, 1516, is the
 most beautiful and correct. Amidst the hasty effusions
 of

CHAP. II. Such was the state of literature, and the talents of its chief professors in the city of Rome, at the time when the cardinal de' Medici took up his residence there; and it must be confessed that, notwithstanding the laudable exertions of the few distinguished scholars

1492.

Æt. 17.

State of literature in other parts of Italy.

of Serafino, we sometimes meet with passages which prove him to have been a genuine poet; as in the opening of his *Capitolo to Sleep*:

“Placido sonno, che dal ciel in terra

“Tacito scendi a tranquillar la mente,

“E de' sospir a mitigar la guerra!

“Ben fai tu spesso i miei desir contenti.

“Che in lieto sonno a me conduci quella,

“Che pasce il cor de sì lunghi tormenti.”

These lines seem to have been imitated by the celebrated Giovanni della Casa, in the sonnet beginning,

“O sonno, o della queta, umida, ombrosa,

“Notte, placido figlio.”

And more evidently by Filicaja, the finest modern lyric poet of Italy, about the year 1700, in his *terzine*, *Al Sonno*.

“Cara morte de' sensi, oblio de' mali.”

Serafino died in 1500, in his thirty-fourth year. On his tomb, in S. Maria del Popolo, was inscribed the following hyperbolical eulogium, by his friend Bernardo Accolti:

“Quí giace Serafin: partirti or puoi;

“Sol d'aver visto il sasso che lo serra

“Assai sei debitor agli occhi tuoi.”

lars before mentioned, that place had not hitherto brought forth those fruits which might have been expected from the munificence of Nicholas V. and the example of Pius II. Nor is it to be denied, that in almost every other city of Italy, the interests of letters and of science were attended to with more assiduity than in the chief place in Christendom. At Naples an illustrious band of scholars had, under better auspices, instituted an academy, which had subsisted for many years in great credit. Of this the celebrated Pontano was at this time the chief director, whence it has usually been denominated *the academy of Pontano*.^f It was, however, originally established, in the reign of Alfonso I. by Antonio Beccatelli, Bartolommeo Facio, Lorenzo Valla, and other eminent men, whom that

C H A P.

II.

1492,

At 17,

Neapolitan
academy.

great

^f On entering the Neapolitan academy, Pontano changed his baptismal name of *Giovanni* for *Jovianus*. This custom is pleasantly ridiculed by Ariosto, in his sixth satire, inscribed to Pietro Bembo.

- “ Il nome, che d’ Apostolo ti denno,
 “ O d’ alcun minor santo, i padri, quando
 “ Christiano d’ acqua, non d’ altro ti fenno,
 “ In *Cosmico*, in *Pomponio*, vai mutando;
 “ Altri Pietro in *Pierio*, altri Giovanni
 “ In *Jano* e in *Jovian* va riconciando;
 “ Quasi che’l nome i buon giudicj inganni,
 “ E che quel meglio t’abbia a far Poeta
 “ Che non farà lo studio di molt’ anni.”

great patron of letters had attracted to his court.

II. The place of assembly was denominated the Portico, and being situated near the residence of Beccatelli, that distinguished scholar, and favourite of Alfonso, was its earliest and most constant visiter. After the death of Beccatelli, his friend and disciple, Pontano, was appointed chief of the academy and under his direction it rose to a considerable degree of respectability.

Few scholars, who have owed their eminence merely to their talents, have enjoyed a degree of respect and dignity equal to Pontano. His writings, both in verse and prose, are extremely numerous; but, as they are wholly in the Latin language, he cannot be enumerated among those, who, at this period, laboured, with so much assiduity and success, in the improvement of their native tongue. The versatility of his talents, and the extent of his scientific acquirements, are chiefly evinced by his works in prose; in which he appears successively as a grammarian, a politician, a historian, a satirist,

Giovanni
Pontano.

* For some account of Beccatelli, v. *Life of Ler. de' Med.* i. 51.

^b First collected and published under the directions of Pietro Summonte, by Andrea d'Asoli at Venice, vol. i. 1518. Vols. ii. and iii, 1519, 8vo. afterwards published at Basil, 1538.

a satirist, a natural and a moral philosopher. These writings are now, however, in a great degree, consigned to oblivion; nor is it difficult to account for the neglect which they have experienced. His grammatical treatise *de Aspiratione*, in two books, instead of exhibiting a philosophical investigation of general rules, degenerates into an ill arranged and tiresome catalogue of particular examples. Nor do we feel more inlined to indulge such a trial of our patience, on account of the instance which he alleges of the orator Messala, who wrote a whole book on the letter *s*. In natural philosophy his writings chiefly relate to the science of astronomy, in which he appears to have made great proficiency; but they are at the same time disgraced by a frequent mixture of judicial astrology; and afford a convincing proof that, when an author builds on false grounds, and reasons on false principles, the greater his talents are, the greater will be his absurdities. His moral treatises are indeed the most valuable of his writings; but they are injured by the unbounded fertility of his imagination, and exhibit rather all that can be said on the subject, than all that ought to be said. From some scattered passages, it appears, however, that he had formed an idea of laying a more substantial basis for philosophical inquiries than the world had therefore known and had obtained, though in dim and distant prospect, a glimpse of that nobler edifice, which, about a century afterwards, was displayed in all its proportions to the immortal Bacon,

and

CHAP.
II.
1492.
Æt. 17.

CHAPTER. and in comparison with which, the airy fabricks of
 II. the schoolmen, like the magick castles of romance,
 1492. have vanished into smoke.ⁱ
 Et. 17.

His Latin
 poetry com-
 pared with
 that of Polli-
 tiano.

Of the satirical talents of Pontano, if we take his *Asinus* as a specimen, no very favourable opinion can be entertained.^k His poetry is, however, entitled to great approbation, and will always rank him, if not the first, in the very first rank of modern Latin poets. Under his control that language

i "De spe ita quidam mihi persuadeo, brevi fore quod
 "dixi, ut et philosophia clariorem formam induat, cum-
 "que una sit et certa veritas, minime futura sit tam varia
 "et lubrica, et qui eloquentiam sequuntur habeant unde
 "facilius hauriant, quod exornare verbis possint." *Pont.
 de Obedientia. Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vi. par. i. p. 297.*

^k This is a kind of drama, in which a traveller, an inn-keeper, and a courier, are introduced, rejoicing in the restoration of peace, which the courier attributes to the exertions of Pontano. The blessings of peace are then chaunted by a chorus of priests, after which Altilio, Pardo, and Cariteo, three of his most intimate friends, lament together the insanity of Pontano; who has of late devoted all his time to the soothing, feeding, and decorating an *ass*. Pontano soon afterwards appears, accompanied by his gardener, with whom he holds a long and serious conversation, on the grafting of trees, and the improvement of his garden. A boy then brings in his favorite *ass*, and Pontano determines to wash and comb him; but beginning at the tail is
 molested

language displays an ease, a facility, a grace, to which it had been for upwards of a thousand years a stranger; and in the series of Latin writers, his works may be placed next to those of the Augustan age, which they will not disgrace by their proximity. They display a great variety of elegiack, lyrick, and epigrammatick productions; but his *Hendecasyllabi* are preferred to the rest of his writings.¹ An eminent critick has not indeed hesitated to give Pontano the preference in point of elegance, to Politiano

CHAP.
II.
1492.
Æt. 17.

molested by a very natural circumstance. He then undertakes to perform that operation on the head; when in return for his kindness, the stupid animal seizes and bites him by the hand, and Pontano finds, too late, *that they who attempt to wash the face of an ass, lose both their soap and labour.* “*Asino caput qui lavant, eos operam cum “sapone amittere.”* This piece has been said to refer to the duke of Calabria, who, as Pontano thought, did not sufficiently repay the services which he had performed, in effecting a peace with the pope, in the year 1486; but if Pontano was capable of this gross abuse of the son of his great patron and benefactor, whom he constantly celebrated with the most open flattery, he deserves as much censure for the malevolence of his purpose, as for the imbecility of its execution.

¹ The Poetical remains of Pontano were published in 2 vols. 12mo. the first by Aldo, in 1513, the second by Andrea d’ Asola, the associate and successour of Aldo, in 1518.

CHAP. Politiano himself.^m Nor will a candid judge be
 II. inclined to oppose this opinion, as far as relates to
 1492. ease and fluency of style; that of Pontano being
 Æt. 17. uniformly graceful and unlaboured, whilst in that
 of Politiano, an attempt may at times be perceived
 to force the genius of the language to the expres-
 sion of his own ideas. But if an inquiry were to
 be instituted into the respective merits of these
 great men, this circumstance alone would not be
 sufficient to decide the question. The subjects on
 which Pontano has treated, are mostly of a general
 nature: amatory versés, convivial invitations, or
 elegiack effusions. Even in his *Urania*, or poem
 on the stars, and his *Hortus Hesperidum*, or poem
 on the cultivation of the orange, he seldom treads
 at any great distance from the track of the ancients.
 His sentiments are therefore rather accommodated
 to the language, than the language to his sentiments.
 But with Politiano the case is reversed: with a
 more vigorous mind, and a wider range of thought,
 he disdained to be limited to prescriptive modes of
 expression, and in embodying his ideas, relied on
 his own genius. Hence, whilst Pontano is at
 sometimes an imitator of Virgil, and at others
 of Horace, Catullus, or Propertius, Politiano is
 himself an original, and owns no subserviency to
 any

^m " Politiano adhuc politior." *Borrichius, de poetis,*
ap. Blount, Censura authorum. 502.

any of the great writers of antiquity ; whom, how-
 ever, he has shown that he was capable of imitating,
 had he chosen it, with great exactness. Pontano
 may therefore be allowed to take the precedence of
 Politiano, with respect to the grace and facility of
 his verse, without detracting from the intrinsic
 merits of that sound scholar and very extraordinary
 man.^a

C H A P.

II.

1492.

Æt. 17.

Not less celebrated than the name of Pontano, is that of his friend and countryman, Sanazzaro, who is equally distinguished by the excellence of his Latin and Italian compositions. He was born at Naples, in the year 1458, of a respectable family, which claimed consanguinity with San Nazzaro, one of the saints of the Roman church.* Under the instructions

Giacopo Sa-
nazzaro.

^a The political and literary labours of Pontano, and the chief circumstances of his publick and private life, are commemorated in a beautiful elegiack poem of his friend, Sanazzaro. *Eleg. lib. i. El. 9. Ed. Comin. 1731.*

“ Qui primus patrios potuit liquisse penates.”

* By a singular coincidence, Sanazzaro was born on the very day devoted to that saint, being the twenty-eighth day of July. Of the opulence, the rank, and the achievements of his ancestors, he has left in his writings many memoirs. From these it appears, that his family was originally of Spain, and that Niccolo, one of his ancestors, followed Carlo Durazzo in a high military capacity, when he obtain-
 ed

CHAP. instructions of Giuniano Majo, Sanazzaro chiefly
 II. acquired the knowledge of the Greek and Latin
 1492. languages, the latter of which he cultivated in an
 Et. 17. eminent degree. On entering into the Neapolitan
 academy, he relinquished his appellation of Giacopo,
 and adopted the name of *Actius Syncerus*, by which
 he

ed possession of the kingdom of Naples. His services were repaid by the princely reward of the castle of Mondragone, and an extensive territory in the province of Lucania, which were enjoyed by Giacopo, his son, the grandfather of the poet, till he was deprived of them by his opposition to the dissolute conduct, and oppressive measures, of Joanna, the sister and successour of Ladislaus, king of Naples. From that period the possessions of his family were considered as inferiour to their rank; and, although they still enjoyed an honourable independence, their reduced state, and lost honours, are a frequent subject of the poet's complaint. *Arcadia, frosa 7. Crispo vita di San. p. 2.* His nativity, on the feast of San Nazzaro, is commemorated in the following inscriptive lines, on dedicating a chapel to that saint, and in many other parts of his works:

“ Divo Nazario.

“ Natali quod, Dive, tuo, lucem editus hausi;
 “ Quod tua nascenti lux mihi prima fuit;
 “ Actius hoc riguo parvum cum fonte sacellum
 “ Dedico; tu nutu fac rata vota tuo;
 “ Ut quæ Sextiles lux venerit ante calendas
 “ Quarta, sit hic generi bis celebranda meo;
 “ Et quod solennes revocat tua festa per aras;
 “ Et quod natalem contigit esse meam.”

he is usually known. The friendship of Pontano, C H A P.
 and his own merits, recommended him at an early 11.
 age to the favour of Ferdinand, king of Naples, 1492.
 and of his sons, Alfonso and Federigo, to whom, Æt. 17.
 throughout all their calamities, he maintained an
 unshaken attachment. For the amusement of these
 princes he is said to have written several drama-
 tick pieces in the Neapolitan dialect, which highly
 delighted the populace; but perhaps the earliest
 assignable date to any of his works, is the year
 1492, when the great events and changes which
 occurred in the world, by the expulsion of the
 Moors from Grenada, and the discovery of Hi-
 spaniola by Columbus, attracted in a high degree
 the publick attention in every part of Europe. It
 is indeed a singular coincidence, that in the same
 year in which the Spanish sovereigns freed their
 country from the opprobrium of a foreign yoke,
 they should themselves have commenced a similar
 invasion on the natural rights of others. The dis-
 covery of the new world gave rise to many singular
 and extravagant notions, which are striking proofs
 of

P “Nè pur oggi è fatto antico in Napoli, fra gli altri
 “suoi componimenti, uno, detto dal volgo di essa Città,
 “*Glomero*, nome conveniente all’ opera, in cui si raccol-
 “gono tutte sentenze, e voci goffe, del parlare antico
 “Napolitano, con digressioni molto ridicole, segni non
 “oscuri della fertilità dell’ ingegno di esso poeta.” *Crispino*,
 in *vita San. p.* 9.

CH. A. P. of the credulity of the age.¹ But the conquest of
 II. Grenada was celebrated throughout all Christen-
 1492. dom;² and with particular splendour at Naples,
 Et. 17. the sovereigns of which were so nearly allied, both
 by blood and marriage, to the reigning family of
 Spain. On this occasion Sanazzaro produced a
 dramatick poem, which was performed before
 Alfonso, duke of Calabria, at Naples, on the
 fourth day of March, 1492.³ Nor was it only by
 the labours of the pen that Sanazzaro obtained the
 favour of his great patrons. The contests which
 arose in Italy had called forth the military talents
 of Alfonso, who, after having expelled the Turks
 from Otranto, fought the battles of his country
 with various success. In these expeditions he
 was accompanied by Sanazzaro, who in his Latin
 poems

¹ *Monaldeschi, Commentarii Historici, lib. xvi. Ed. Ven. 1784. Bembo, Istoria Veneta, lib. vi.*

² An account of the rejoicings in London, on this occasion, may be found in Hollingshead's Chronicle

³ The plan of this piece is extremely simple. Mahomet first appears lamenting his defeat, and flying before the Christian army; after which *Faith* and *Joy* successively enter the stage, in appropriate habiliments, and exult in his defeat, and the representation terminates with a masquerade and a dance. This *Farsa*, as it appears to have been entitled by the author, remained in MS. till the year 1719, when it was published at Naples, and has since been usually annexed to the Italian writings of Sanazzaro.

poems frequently adverts to his warlike exploits, with the consciousness of one whose services have been neither unknown nor unimportant.

C. H. A. P.

II.

1492.

Æt. 17.

His Arcadia.

Of the writings of Sanazzaro in his native language, the most celebrated is his *Arcadia*, which, for the purity of style, and elegance of expression, is allowed to have excelled all that Italy had before produced. This performance is also a species of drama, in which the interlocutors express themselves in verse; but every dialogue is preceded by an introduction in a kind of poetical prose, the supposed dialect of Arcadian shepherds. If the applauses with which this piece was received, and the commendations bestowed upon it in the lifetime of the author, be considered as inadequate proofs of its merit, the numerous editions of it which appeared in the course of the ensuing century, are a more unequivocal testimony of its excellence; and the latest historian of Italian literature acknowledges, that after the lapse of three centuries, the *Arcadia* is justly esteemed as one of the most elegant compositions in the Italian language.* It must, however, be confessed, that this piece is not now read without some effort against that involuntary languor, which works of great length, and little interest, never fail to occasion. This may perhaps

be

* *Tirab.* vii. par. 3. p. 74. About 60 editions of the *Arcadia* appeared before the year 1600.

CHAP. be attributed to the alternate recurrence of prose
 II. and verse, a species of composition, which has
 1492. never succeeded in any age, or in any country,
 At 17. and which even the genius of La Fontaine could
 not raise into celebrity;" to the use of poeti-
 cal prose, that hermaphrodite of literature, equally
 deprived of masculine vigour and of feminine
 grace; to the repetition of the *versi sdrucchioli*,
 which terminate every line with a rapidity approach-
 ing to the ludicrous, and prevent that variety of
 pauses which is essential to numerous composition.
 If to these causes we add the very inartificial, and
 almost unconnected plan of the poem, and the total
 want of variety in the sentiments and characters,
 we shall be at no loss to account for the present
 neglect of a work, which may, however, be esteem-
 ed as a production of uncommon merit at the time
 when it appeared, and as having contributed in an
 eminent degree to form and to refine the Italian
 tongue.

And other
 writings.

. If, however, the Arcadia of Sanazzaro had
 never been written, his sonnets and lyrick pieces
 would have secured to him the distinction of one
 of the chief poets that Italy has produced. It has
 indeed been supposed, that if the increasing cele-
 brity of Pietro Bembo had not deprived Sanazzaro
 of the hope of being considered as the principal
 restorer

" *Les Amours de Psyche & de Cupidon.*

restorer of Italian literature, he would have pursued C. H. A. P. that object with still greater energy and success., II.
 The rivalship of these two eminent men, whilst it 1492.
 rather cemented than relaxed the friendship that Æt. 17.
 subsisted between them, eventually led them to
 pursue, by a kind of tacit consent, each a different
 path to fame; and whilst Bembo persevered in
 cultivating his native tongue, Sanazzaro turned all
 his powers to the improvement of his talents for
 Latin poetry, in which department his productions
 will unavoidably occur to our future notice.

When we advert to the great degree of attention
 paid to the cultivation of polite letters, both in
 Naples and in Florence, at this period, it may seem
 extraordinary that so little intercourse subsisted
 between the scholars in those places. In the *Epis-*
tolæ of Politiano, we find indeed a letter from him
 to Pontano on the death of Ferdinand of Naples,
 written in the most respectful and flattering terms; Enmity between the
 but no answer to this letter appears in the collection, Neapolitan
 and as it was customary for Politiano to insert the and Floren-
 replies of his friends, we may be assured, that tine scholars.
 either none was returned, or that it was not calcu-
 lated to do much honour to the person to whom it
 was addressed. It also appears, that Pontano had,
 ON

▼ *Crispo. Vita di San. p. 24. et. not. 63.*

▼ *Pol. Ep. lib. ii. ep. 7.*

CHAP. on some former occasion, excused himself from

II. the task of correspondence; to which, Politiano,

1492. with an unusual degree of condescension, replies,

Æt. 17. "you have my full consent, as long as I know

"you honour me with your esteem, not only, not

"to reply to my letters, but even not to read

"them." This indifference on the part of Pontano,

who has, on no occasion introduced the name of

Politiano in his works, may perhaps be taken as no

equivocal indication of his disregard, whilst his inti-

macy with Scala and Marullus, the avowed enemies

of Politiano, may serve to confirm the suspicion.

But the works of Sanazzaro afford examples of

more direct hostility. In the year 1489, Politiano

published his *Miscellanea*, in which he conjectures,

that Catullus, under the emblem of his sparrow,

concealed an idea, too indecent to be more fully

expressed.* Why this observation should excite

the resentment of the Neapolitan scholars, who

were by no means remarkable for the moral purity

of their compositions, it is not easy to discover;†

but

* This he infers from the conclusion of an epigram of Martial;

"Da mi basia, sed Catulliana,

"Quæ si tot fuerint quot ille dixit,

"Donabo tibi passerem Catulli."

Polit. Miscel. lib. i. cap. 6.

† Pontano had himself not only commented on the works of Catullus, as appears by an epigram of Sanazzaro,

De

but among the epigrams of Sanazzaro are some verses addressed *Ad Pulicianum* (a term of reproach of which Scala had set the example) in which he with great severity alludes to this criticism, which he treats with the utmost ridicule and contempt.* Not satisfied with this attack, he returns to the charge; and, in another copy of verses, bestows on the object of his resentment the most unqualified abuse.^a In other parts of his works he inveighs against certain authors, who contaminate the precincts of Parnassus by their envy and their malignity; among whom it is highly probable that he meant to include the Florentine scholar.^b As Politiano was, of all men living, the most unlikely to submit to these insults, without a reply, we may be allowed to conjecture, that

De emendatione Catulli; ad Jovianum, but had adopted and amplified the idea of Politiano in an epigram, which he entitles *Cui donaturus sit suam columbam*. *Op. poet.* i. 232.

* *Sanazar. Epig. lib. i. Ep. 61.*

“Ait nescio quis Pulicianus.”

A piece much more remarkable for its indecency than its wit, and infinitely more reprehensible than the passage to which it adverts

^a *Ib. Ep. 61.*

^b *Eleg. lib. i. El. 11. In maledicos detractores.*

CHAP. that these hostile pieces, at whatever time they
 II. were written, were not made publick till after his
 1493. death.

Æt. 17.

Another member of the academy, and distinguished literary ornament of Naples, was the poet Cariteo, whose family name has been lost in his poetical appellation. He is said to have been a native of Barcelona, and it appears from his own writings, that he was connected by consanguinity with Massimo Corvino, bishop of Massa, who also held a place in the academy.^c Of his friendly intercourse with the first scholars and chief nobility of Naples, and even with the individuals of the reigning family there, his works afford innumerable instances, whilst in those of Sanazzaro and Pontano, he is frequently mentioned with particular affection and commendation.^d His writings, which are wholly in the Italian tongue, are characterized

^c "E tu, Corvino mio, poi ch'io ti mostro,
 "Che di sangue e d'amor son teco giunto,
 "Parla di me con penna, e con inchiostro."
Cariteo, contra i malevoli, in fine.

^d Thus Sanazzaro :

"Quin et rite suos genio Chariteus honores
 "Præbeat, et festas concinet ante dapes."
Eleg. lib. i.

Anti

terized by a vigour of sentiment, and a genuine vein of poetry. Without rivalling the elegance of the Tuscan poets, they possess also a considerable share of ease and harmony. Some of these compositions refer, in a very particular manner, to the characters of the principal persons, and to the political events of the times.* The animosity of the Neapolitan

And Potano addresses *Ad Chariteum*, his Hendecasyllabi, in which he celebrates the baths of Baia. Cariteo himself thus anticipates the applause of his friends :

“ Parle di me il *Pontan*, quel bel tesoro
 “ D’Apollo, e delle Aonide sorelle,
 “ Che con la lingua sparge un fiume d’oro.
 “ Depinto io son nel opre eterne e belle
 “ Del mio bel *Sanazar*, vero *Syncero*,
 “ Ch’ allora io giugnero fin a le stelle.”
Cariteo, contra i malevoli.

He also attributes the name by which he is now known, to the favour of *Sanazzaro* :

“ Quando di quel liquor *Parthenopeo*
 “ *Syncero* mi pascea, dolce cantando,
 “ Con le charite, ond’ io fui *CHARITEO* ;”
Cariteo, Pascha, Cant. 6. in fin.

* They were collected and published by his surviving friend Pietro Summonte, at Naples, 1509, 4to. It is to be observed, however, that the predictions of the poet were speedily reversed, by the entire ruin of his great patrons.

C H A P. Neapolitan scholars against those of Florence, is further evinced by the writings of Cariteo. In one of his *Canzoni* he insinuates, that the splendour of Dante and of Petrarca has eclipsed the fame of all their countrymen, an observation evidently intended to humiliate the present race of scholars, under a pretext of paying homage to the past;^f and in his *Risposta contra i malevoli*, to whomsoever he meant to apply that appellation, he has exceeded Sanazzaro himself in expressions of resentment and abuse.

Other members of the Neapolitan academy.

The other members, who composed the literary institution of Naples, were arranged according to the different districts of the city, or the realm, and the society also associated to itself, as honorary members, the most eminent scholars in other parts of Europe.^g Among those who contributed at this

f "Se i due soli, di cui l' Arno sì gloria
 "Onde *Beatrice* e *Laura* hor son divine,
 "Offuscan l'altre stelle Fiorentine,
 "Non torran a *Sebeto* la sua gloria.
 "Vivan le muse."

g It is to be regretted, that the Neapolitan historians have supplied us with little more than the names of those eminent men, who at this early period did so much honour to the literature of their country; and even these lists are not correct, as they contain the names of several persons who flourished at a later period. We are indeed informed by

this time to its credit, was Andrea Matteo Acquaviva, duke of Atri, on whom all the academicians of Naples have bestowed the highest honours.^h Pontano dedicated to him his two books *De rebus Cœlestibus*; Piero Summonte inscribed to him all his works. He is celebrated in the poems of Sannazzaro, no less for his warlike exploits, than for his literary accomplishments.ⁱ Alessandro de' Alessandri dedicated to him the first book of his *Geniales dies*, and Cariteo enumerates him among his particular friends.^j Of his writings there yet remain his commentaries, called by Paulo Giovio his

C H A P.
II.
1492.
Æt. 17;

by Apostolo Zeno (*Disser. Voss. cap. 78*) that Bernardo Cristoforo, a learned Neapolitan, had written the history of this early institution, in a work entitled *Academia Pontani, sive vite illustrium virorum, qui cum Jo. Joviano Pontano Neapoli floruerunt*; but the manuscript has been irrecoverably lost. I cannot, however, pass over these illustrious names, without giving such particulars respecting them as have fallen in my way.

^h "Principem virum," says Pontano, "et in mediis philosophantem belli ardoribus." *Pontan. de Magnanim.*

ⁱ "De Andrea Matthæo Aquivivo.

"Cernis ut exsultet patriis Aquivivus in armis,

"Duraque spumanti frena relaxet equo?"

"Quis mites illum Permessi hausisse liquores

"Credat, et imbelles excoluisse lyras?"

San. Epig. lib. ii. Ep. 2.

; Cariteo, *Risposta contra i Malevoli.*

C H A P. his *Encyclopædia*, and according to the last mentioned author, four books of moral disquisitions, which, as he says, contain *Di bellissime Sottilezze*; but these are the same work, published under different titles.^k He lived to an advanced age, and distinguished himself, with various success, in the wars which soon after this period, desolated his country. His example descended to his posterity; and the dukes of Atri are celebrated as an uninterrupted series of great and learned men. His brother, Belisario Acquaviva, duke of Nardi, was also a member of the society; and, as appears by his writings, attained great proficiency in those studies, to which he had been incited by the example of his near and illustrious relative,^l whom he also

^k *Commentarii in translationem libelli Plutarchi Chæronæi, de virtute morali. Neap. ex Off. Ant. de Fritiis. 1526.* This was printed at the author's own press, at Naples; it was afterwards republished by his son, Antonio Donato, and entitled *Illustrium et exquisitissimarum disputationum libri quatuor, quibus omnes Divina et humana sapientia, præsertim animi moderatrix, musica, atq. astrologia arcana, in Plutarchi Chæronæi de virtute morali præceptionibus recondita, summo ingenii acumine resecta patefunt, et figuris, suo quæque loco, illustrantur. Helionopol. ap. Jo. Theodobaldum, 1609, 4to.*

^l The principal work of Belisario consists of his treatises *De Venatione, et de Aucupio*; *de re militari et singulari certamine*; *de instituendis principum liberis, Paraphrasis in Economica Aristotelis.* First printed at Naples, 1519, folio, afterwards

also rivalled in his military talents, and towards whom he displayed an act of magnanimity, which confers lasting honour on his memory. ^m

C H A P.
II.
1492.
Æt. 17.

These noblemen were of the district of Nido; ⁿ as was also Trojano Cavanilla, count of Troja and Montella, another splendid ornament of the Neapolitan academy, to whom Sanazzaro has inscribed his poem, entitled *Salices*; ^o and who, although not

afterwards at Basil, 1578, 8vo. Sanazzaro, in one of his Epigrams, *lib. ii.* 38. *De Lauro, ad Neritinarum ducem*, has celebrated his munificence in reestablishing, in his city of Nardo, the academy *Del Lauro*.

^m On the descent of Charles VIII. into Naples, the duke of Atri, being suspected of having favoured the cause of the French, was deprived, by his sovereign, of the fee of Comersano, from which he derived his title of count, which was conferred on his brother Belisario; but no sooner had these commotions subsided, than Belisario voluntarily relinquished his new possessions in favour of his brother, to whom they were restored by the king; and Belisario was created count, and afterwards duke of Nardi.

Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Italia i. 120.

ⁿ The origin of these divisions of the city of Naples, called by the inhabitants *Seggi*, is fully explained by Giannone in his History of Naples, *lib. xx. cap. 4.* to which I must refer.

^o “ Accipe flumineas properatum carmen ad undas,

“ O mihi non dubia, *Cabanili*, cognite fama;

“ Sed

C H A P. not enumerated by the Italian historians among
 II. their authors, appears to have signalized himself by
 1492. his researches into antiquity.^p From the same
 Æt. 17. district was also Giovanni di Sangro, a Neapolitan
 patrician, to whom Sanazzaro, dying of unsuccessful love, commits the care of his poetical
 rites.^q

Of the department of Capua were Girolamo
 Carbone, known to the world by his poetical writings,

“ Sed longe varios rerum spectate per usus :
 “ Nam tibi me doctæ sic devinxere sorores,
 “ Sic mea felici permulcent pectora cura,
 “ Ut vix ulla queam melioris tempora vitæ
 “ Te sine, vix placidos per noctem carpere somnos.”

ᵖ “ Ipse suæ referat *Cabanilius* ardua Trojæ
 “ Mœnia, et antiquos, Appula regna, lares.”
Sanaz. Eleg. lib. i. cl. 11.

ᵇ “ Proh superi, tenues ibit Syncerus in auras ?
 “ Nec poterit nigri vincere fata rogi ?
 “ At tu, quandoquidem Nemesis jubet, optime *Sangri*,
 “ (Nec fas est homine vincere posse deam)
 “ Accipe concussæ tabulas atque arma carinæ,
 “ Naufragique mei collige reliquias,
 “ Errantesque cie quocunque in littore manes ;
 “ Taliaque in tumulo carmina cæde meo
 “ Actius hic jaceo, spes mecum extincta quiescit ;
 “ Solus de nostro funere restat amor.”
Sanaz. Eleg. lib. i. cl. 10.

tings,^r and frequently mentioned with particular CHAP.
 applause by Pontano, Sanazzaro, and Cariteo;^{11.}
 and Tristano Carraccioli, who is commemorated 1492.
 by Sanazzaro in his *Arcadia*,^t and who has left Et. 17.
 a brief memoir, in Latin, of his patron,^u with
 whom he appears to have lived on terms of great
 intimacy.^v

No

^r *Sonetti, Sestine, ed altre poesie di Girolamo Carbone, Cavaliere Napolitano. Napoli. 1506, in fo.*

^s "At tu castaliis non inficiande choreis

"Castalidos, Carbo, nunc cane regna tua."

Sanaz. El. lib. i. cl. 11.

Et v. Pontani Hendec. p. 215. De Sermones, p. 231.
Eridan. p. 105 also the beautiful elegy of Pontano, invit-
 ing him to a rustick supper. *Eridan. i. 120*, and the son-
 net of Cariteo,

"Carbone, in cui scintillan bragie accese."

^t "Ma a guisa d'un bel sol, fra tutti radia

"Carracciol, ch'in sonar sampogne e cetere,

"Non troverebbe il pari in tutta Arcadia."

But perhaps some doubt may be entertained, whether this
 passage may not relate to Gian Francesco Carraccioli, who
 lived at this period, and whose poems were printed at Na-
 ples, in 1506. *v. Quadrio. ii. 222.*

^u Printed by Roberto de Sarno, at the end of his life
 of Pontano. *Napoli. 1761.*

^v *Pontani, de Sermones, lib. iv. p. 231.*

CHAPTER. No one of the academicians was held in higher
 II. esteem for his judgment in matters of taste, than
 1498. Francesco Poderico, or Puderico, of the district of
 Mt. 17. Montagna. To him Pontano and Sanazzaro inscribed many of their works, and Pietro Summonte addressed to him, after the death of its author, the dialogue of Pontano, entitled *Aetius*. Although deprived of sight, the talents of Poderico rendered him the delight of all his literary friends.* Such was the respect paid to his opinion by Sanazzaro, that in the composition of his celebrated poem *De partu Virginis*, which he was twenty years in completing, he is said to have consulted him upon every verse, and frequently to have expressed the same verse in ten different forms, before he could please the ear of this fastidious critick.* Among the
Tumuli

* Pontani, *Hendec. lib. i. p.* 206.

* In one of his poems, of which only a fragment remains, Sanazzaro solicits the favour of his friend.

“ Tuque ades, o nostri merces non parva laboris,
 “ Quem Phœbus mihi, quem doctæ, mea turba, puellæ
 “ Conciliant; dumque ipse ratem de litore pello
 “ Da vela insinuans, pelagoque excurrere patenti
 “ Pars animæ, Puderice, meæ.”

Sanaz. Op. Ed. Comino, 91.

And in celebrating the day of his nativity, he has the following passage :

“ Adde

Tumuli of Pontano, which his officious kindness frequently devoted to his living friends, is one inscribed to Poderico, from the title to which it appears, that he ranked among the nobility of Naples.⁷

C H A P.
II.
1492.
Æt. 17.

Of the district of Porto were Pietro Jacopo Gianuario, of whom an Italian poem, in manuscript, has been preserved,⁸ and his son, Alfonso Gianuario, of Portanova.

The only member of the academy from the district of Porta, if we except Sanazzaro, was Alessandro

" Adde tuos, Puderice, sales ; adde inclyta patris
" Eloquia ; adde animo tot bona parta tuo."

Sanaz. Eleg. lib. ii. El. 2.

Which, however, it must be observed, is addressed to Alberico, the son of Francesco, of whom Pontano relates the following anecdote : *De Sermone, lib. iv. p. 231*, " Garriebat quispian, nostra in porticu, quem ferre Albericus
" Pudericus Francisci nostri filius, cum non posset, nullo
" dato responso, manu sublata, monuit, nasum ut emungeret ; que e signo mirificus inter astantes exortus est
" risus."

⁷ *Pontani, Tumul.* where he is called " ex nobilitate
" Neapolitana."

⁸ *Vita di Sanazzar. da Crespo. Ven. 1752, p. 8*, where it appears, that this poem was formerly in the possession of Matteo Egizio, an Italian lawyer.

CHAMP. **sandro de' Alessandri**, author of the *Geniales*
 IT. *Dies*, a work which has been esteemed, and fre-
 1492. quently commented on, as one of the classical
 Et. 17. productions of the Latin tongue. He was born of
 a noble family of Naples, about the year 1461, and
 in the early part of his life, exercised with reputa-
 tion, the profession of an advocate, at Naples and
 at Rome; but his intimacy with the learned men
 of his time, seduced him from his employment,
 and led him to the study of polite literature. Be-
 sides his principal work, he is said to have been the
 author of several dissertations on dreams, spectres,
 and on houses haunted by evil spirits, which are
 considered as proofs of childish credulity: ^a but it
 may be doubted, whether these are any other than
 his chapters on those subjects in his *Geniales Dies*.
 Of that collection very different opinions have been
 entertained, and he has been accused of having
 stolen even the plan of his work from Aulus Gel-
 lius. But what is there peculiar in a plan, which
 consists only in dividing a certain number of un-
 connected observations into a certain number of
 books? In truth, his works prove him to have
 been a man of extensive reading, great industry,
 and a considerable share of critical ability, and he
 was perhaps as little tinctured with superstition,
 as

^a Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vii. pag. 2. p. 240.

as most of the writers of the age in which he lived.^b

CHAP.
II.

1492.

Among those who resided beyond the districts, were Antonio Carbone, lord of Alise; Giovanni Elio, called also Elio Marchese;^c Giuniano Majo, the preceptor of Sanazzaro,^d and who has left a monument of his singular learning, in his treatise *De priscorum proprietate verborum*;^e Luca Grasso;

^b The *Geniales Dies* were first published at Naples, in 1522. In the first chapter of the second book, is an interesting account of the manner in which Sanazzaro was accustomed to entertain his literary friends.

^c "Ælius at Blandæ fretus dulcedine linguæ
"Facunda totos conterat arte dies."

Sanaz. El. lib. i. 11

^d "Nectat honorata Majus sua dicta corona,
"Tamque pias ferulas regia sceptrâ vocet."

Ibid.

Cariteo also commemorates,

"Musefilo at Majo, anime argute,
"Ciascune Quintiliano al secol nostro,
"Moderator de l'aspra gioventute."

Contra i malevoli.

^e First printed at Naples, in 1475, and again in 1480; it was also printed at Treves, 1477 and 1480, and at Venice, 1482.

CHAP. 20; Giovanni Aniso, whose Latin poems are published under the name of Janus Anysius, and author of a tragedy entitled *Protogonos*; ^f the poet Cariteo; Pietro Compare, frequently addressed by Pontano as his associate in the rites of Bacchus and of Venus; ^g Pietro Summonte, himself an elegant writer,

^f *Jani Anysii varia poemata et Satyræ; Neap. 1531, 4to. Ejusdem Anysii Tragedia cui titulus, PROTOGONOS, Neap. 1536. 4to.* Cælio Calcagnini thus adverts to the writings of Aniso,

“Quis non Anysii dulce carmen, et Musas
 “Exosculetur? quæ adeo dulce dictarunt
 “Carmen; cui invidere plurimi possint;
 “Quod æmulari aut alter, aut queat nemo.”

Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. iii. 68.

^g *Pontan. Hendec. p. 189, 213. Epigr. 233;* some of which rival Catullus, both in elegance and indecency. That Piero was distinguished by his own writings, appears from the beautiful and affectionate lines of Sanazzaro, on his death. *Epigr. lib. ii. 15.* He is also enumerated by the poet among his particular friends, and celebrated for his wit and vivacity:

“Nec minus et Musæ repetens monimenta jocosæ
 “Compater, argutos ingerat ore sales.”

Sanaz. Eleg. lib. i. cl. 11.

Pontano dedicated to him a monument in his chapel at Naples, with the following inscription:

“PETRO COMPATRI, VIRO OFFICIOSISSIMO,
 “PONTANUS POSUIT, CONSTANTEM OB AMICITIAM.”

writer, and to whose pious care we are indebted C H A P.
 for the preservation of the works of many of his II.
 learned friends ;^h Tomaso Fusco ;ⁱ Rutilio Ze- 1492.
 none ;^j Girolamo Angeriano, whose poems have Et. 17
 been published with those of Marullus and Johan-
nes

^h For which he is celebrated in the following exquisite verses by Sanazzaro ;

- “ Excitat obstrictas tumultis Summontius umbras :
 “ Impleat ut sanctæ munus amicitiae :
 “ Utque prius vivos, sic et post fata sodales
 “ Observat ; tristes et sedet ante rogos :
 “ Nec tantum violas cineri, ac benevolentia ponit
 “ Serta, sed et lachrymis irrigat ossa piis.
 “ Parva loquor : cultis reparat monumenta libellis ;
 “ Cum possint longam saxa timere diem.
 “ At tu, vivaci quæ fulcis nomina Fama,
 “ Poscenti gratas, Musa, repende vices ;
 “ Ut quoniam dulces optat sic vivere amicos,
 “ Vivat, et in libris sit sacer ille meis.”

Sanaz. Epigr. lib. ii. 9.

To Summonte, Cariteo has also addressed the highly commendatory sonnets, beginning,

- “ Summontio, in dubbio sono ove nascesti.”
 and
 “ Summontio mio, dal summo Aonio monte.”

ⁱ To Tomaso Fusco, Sanazzaro has addressed his Elegy on the Calends of December. *lib. liii. cl. 3.*

- ^j “ Certent Socraticis Zenonis scripta libellis ;
 “ Cujus apis vernos intulit ore favos.”

Sanaz. Eleg. lib. i. 11.

CHAP. nes Secundus;¹ Antonio Tebaldeo, an Italian
 II. poet, of considerable eminence, who chiefly resided
 1492. at Ferrara, and whose writings will occur to our
 Æt. 17. future notice; Girolamo Borgia, a Latin poet;^m
 and Massimo Corvino, bishop of Massa, who had
 in his youth distinguished himself by his poetical
 compositions.ⁿ

Of the Regnicoli were Gabriele Altilio, bishop
 of Polycastro, author of the celebrated Epithala-
 mium

¹ *Poeta tres elegantissimi; scilicet, Michael Marullus, Hieronymus Angerianus, et Joannes Secundus.* Paris, 1582. Many of his works are also inserted in the *Carmina illustr. Poet. Itolorum*, the merits of which he has himself well appreciated in the following lines, entitled *Libellum ad Lectorem*.

“Doctrinam si forte cupis, si forte lepores
 “Pierios, Domini, ne lege scripta mei;
 “Dum nimis igne calet, solum describit inertes
 “Curas, et quanta est Celia, quantus amor.”

Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. i. 298.

^m A favourable specimen of his writings is given in the *Carm. illust. Poet. Ital.* ii. 427. One of the Elegies of Pontano is addressed *Ad Hieronymum Borgium, poetam elegantissimum.* *Amores*, p. 129, from which we learn, that the family of Borgia was originally of Spain, and that his ancestors, having visited Italy, on a warlike expedition, had there taken up their abode.

ⁿ “*Quique velut tenera surgit novus arbore ramus*
 “*Corvinus, quavis aure probanda canat.*”

San. Eleg. i. 11.

mium on the marriage of Gian-Galeazzo Sforza with Isabella of Aragon, and the frequent subject of the panegyrick of his contemporaries;° Antonio Galateo of Lecce, deservedly held in high estimation in his profession, as a physician, and whose attainments in natural and moral philosophy, were much beyond the level of the age in which he lived;ª and Giovanni Eliseo, of Anfratta, in Apulia,

CHAP.
II.
1492.
Æt. 17.

° This Epithalamium is published in the *Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital.* i. 129. And is also printed, with a few other pieces of the same author, at the close of the works of Sanazzaro, by Comino, *Patav.* 1731, 4to. where numerous testimonies are collected of the merits of Altilius. Some of these pieces had, however, before been printed with the works of Sanazzaro, Daniel Cereti, and the brothers of the Amalthei, illustrated by the notes of Peter Vlamingii, *Amst.* 1728, in one vol. 8vo. which may be united with the variorum editions of the classicks. The Epithalamium was translated into Italian by Giovanni Battista Carminati, a Venetian nobleman; and published by Comino, in the year 1730, after the death of the translator. *Quadrio* ii. 587.

ª Galateo is said to have indicated the possibility of the navigation to the East by the Cape of Good Hope, in his treatise *De situ Elementorum*, published in 1501, but written some years prior to that period. *Tirab.* vi. l. 166. In his moral writings, he combated, with sound reason, the prevailing notions of supernatural agency. *Tirab.* vi. l. 296. He also illustrated the topography of his native-country with accurate maps and descriptions. *Giovio, Iscritt.* 211. Galateo is not only celebrated in the works of the poets of the time, for his great acquirements and amiable qualities, but was himself also a poet of considerable merit.

CHAP. lia, better known as a Latin poet, by the name of
 II. Elysius Calentius.^q

1492.

Æt. 17. The associated strangers, whose names have been preserved to us, were Lodovico Montalto, of Syracuse;^r Pietro Gravina, a canon of Naples, and a Latin poet of the first celebrity;^s Marc-Antonio

^q His works were printed at Rome, in 1503, under the title of *Opuscula Elysi Calentii, Poete clarissimi, &c.* This volume is extremely rare; having, as it is supposed, been suppressed, although sanctioned by a privilege from the court of Rome, *v. de Bure*, 2892. This author has obtained a place among the unfortunate sons of literature, whom Tollerius has enumerated in his Appendix to Valerianus, p. 11. It appears, however, that his misfortunes were occasioned by his amorous propensities, which engrossed both his talents and his time. To this the following elegant lines of Angelo Colocci refer.

“Sumpserat Elysius calamum scripturus amoris

“Sævitiâ, tenuem risit amor calamum :

“Pectus et arrepta transfixit arundine, dicens,

“Judice te, dic, quis fortior est calamus.”

Colocci vita, a Ubaldino. Rom. 1673.

^r His praises are warmly celebrated by Sanazzaro. *Eleg. lib. ii. El. 6.*

^s The Epigrams of Gravina are preferred by Sanazzaro to those of all his contemporaries. His poems were printed at Naples, in 1532, 4to. A few of them are also inserted in the *Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. v. 366.* Among the Hendecasyllabi of Pontano is an invitation to Gravina, to partake with him the voluptuous retreat of Baja. *Pont. Op. p. 208.*

Antonio Flaminio, of Sicily, a distinguished scholar, but not to be mistaken for the celebrated Latin poet of the same name, a native of Serravalle; Egidio, afterwards cardinal of Viterbo;^c Bartolommeo Scala, of Florence;^u Basilio Zanchi, of Bergamo, distinguished by the elegance of his Latin compositions,^v and whose beautiful verses on the death of Sanazzaro were translated into Italian, by the great Torquato Tasso; Jacopo Sadoleti, afterwards secretary to Leo X. and who, at a more advanced period of life, attained the dignity of the purple; Giovanni Cotta, of Verona, who followed the fortunes of the celebrated Venetian General, Bartolommeo d'Alviano, and whose Latin poems may aspire to rank with those of Navagero, Fracastoro, and Aniso, with whom
he

C H A P.

II.

1492.

Æt. 17½

^c A disciple of Mariano Genazzano, and said by Giovio to have far excelled his master in learning and eloquence. *Iscritt.* 161. In his youth he cultivated Italian poetry, and his stanze, entitled *Caccia d' Amore*, evince considerable poetical talents. They have often undergone the press, particularly with the works of Girolamo Benivieni, *Ven.* 1526. and with sundry poems of Benivieni and Bojardo. *Ven.* 1537.

^u *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, ii. 86, 88.

^v Published at Rome, 1540, 4to. and again at Basil, 1555, 8vo.

CHAP. he lived in habits of friendship; ^w Matteo Albino; ^x Pietro Bembo; Antonio Michele, of Venice;
II. ^{1492.} Giovan-Pietro Valeriano, of Belluno; ^y Nicolas
Et. 17. Grudius, of Rohan; ^z Giacomo Latino, of Flanders; Giovanni Pardo, often celebrated in the writings of Sanazzaro and Pontano; ^a and Michaelæ Marullus

^w The poems of Cotta are printed in the scarce volume of the *Carmina v. illustrium Poetarum, scilicet, Petri Bembi, And. Naugerii, Balth. Castilioni, Joannis Cotta, et M. Ant. Flaminii. Ven. Valgrisi, 1548, 8vo.* Some of them also appear in the *Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital.* iii. 490, and in other collections.

^x "Et qui Pieriis resonat non ultimus antris
 "Albinus, referat principis acta sui."

^y Author of the treatise *De Literatorum Infelicitate*, and a distinguished Latin poet, to whose works we shall have occasion to advert.

^z Probably the father of the poet Joannes Secundus, and his two learned brothers, Nicolas and Hadrian Marius, whose works were published together at Leyden, by Vulcanius, *ap. Elz.* 1612.

^a A few scattered productions of Pardo appear in the works of Pontano, and Sanazzaro; which show that he had imbibed the same elegance of Latin composition that distinguished the other members of the Neapolitan academy. Cariteo denominates him

"Pardo insigne, e chiaro,
 "Per gemino idioma al mondo altero."

Contra i malevoli.

Marullus of Constantinople, who excelled all his countrymen in the elegance of his Latin compositions.

C H A P.
II.
1492.
Æt. 17.

Of this numerous catalogue it is but justice to observe, that there is scarcely an individual who has not, by the labours of the sword or of the pen, entitled himself to the notice of the biographer, and the approbation of posterity. Nor would it be difficult to make considerable additions to it, if the foregoing account were not amply sufficient to demonstrate the ardour and success with which polite letters

^b His works were published at Florence, 1497, under the title of *Hymni et Epigrammata Marulli*, 4to. The commendations bestowed upon him by the younger Beroaldo, are highly honourable both to the Greek and the Italian, whose countrymen were too often jealous of the reputation of the eastern fugitives. “ Ille homo transmarinus nostrates versu provocavit; atque in hoc stadio ita enituit, ut cum quolibet non suæ modo ætatis vate, sed etiam antiquorum conferri possit. Epigrammata scripsit, quibus humanos affectus, mores, actionesque, mirè complexus est; executus jucunda lepidè, gravia severè, mœsta flebiliter, taxanda mordaciter, grandia audacter, sententiosa sapienter; omniaque hæc pari ingenio. Hymnos vero primus apud Romanos, et eo quidem spiritu conscripsit, ut ab ipsis Diis quos celebravit, quodam numine afflatus esse videatur.”

Beroald. *Ep. ad Herm. Bentivolium*, in *op. Codri Urcei*. p. 285.

CHAP. letters were cultivated at Naples, under the princes
 . II. of the house of Aragon.^c

1492.

Æt. 17. Next to the cities of Naples and Florence,
 State of literature at Ferrara. perhaps no place in Italy had fairer pretensions to literary eminence than Ferrara. During the whole of the fifteenth century, the family of Este, who had held the sovereignty of that place for many generations, had displayed an invariable attention to the cause of letters, and had rewarded their professors with a munificence that attracted them from

^c To this enumeration of the Neapolitan poets, at the close of the fifteenth century, I must, however, be allowed to add the name of *Fillenio Gallo*, of Montesano; of whose writings a MS. copy, of this period, is in my possession. Paullo Giovio, who with a laudable curiosity, collected the portraits of many of the eminent men of his own, and preceding times, enumerates, at the close of the first book of his *Elogii*, the names of several distinguished persons, of whom he had already obtained portraits, and whose characters he intended for his second book—"che essendo ancora in vita, godono l'eccelsa gloria de'lor fecondi ingegni." Among these he enumerates *Phylandro Gallo*, who may, perhaps, be presumed to be the same person who is above, and in his own writings called *Fillenio*. With the exception of this doubtful reference, I find no account of this author in any of the records of Italian literature. That he lived towards the close of the fifteenth century, abundantly appears from his writings; which consist of Eclogues, Sonnets, Sestini, and other lyric compositions. His style approaches nearer to that of Serafino d'Aquila than any other author.

from all parts of Italy, and rendered Ferrara a flourishing theatre of science, and of arts. At the close of the century, that city, with its dependent states of Modena and Reggio, were under the government of Ercole I. the successour of Borso, whom the favour of the populace had preferred to his nephew Nicolo d' Este, the son of the celebrated Leonello. The succession to the sceptre of Ferrara, exhibits indeed a striking instance of the disregard which was then paid to the laws generally established on that subject, and of the great attention bestowed on personal merit. By Ercole the university of Ferrara was maintained in high respectability; the library of his family was increased; a superb theatre was erected for the representation of dramattick performances, in which the first piece acted was the *Menæchmus* of Plautus, which is said to have been translated into Italian for that purpose by the duke himself.^d When such was the character of the sovereign, we shall not be surprised at the

^d We learn from a Latin elegy of Battista Guarino, that the representation of this piece in the year 1486, attracted the attention, and excited the wonder of all Italy. After describing the splendid preparations made for that purpose by the duke, he adverts to the great concourse of people which it induced to visit Ferrara—

“ Venit et ad magnos populos Bononia ludos,

“ Et cum finitimis Mantua principibus;

“ Euganeis junctæ properarunt collibus urbes,

“ Quique bibunt, lymphas, Arne vadose, tuas;

Hinc

C H A P. the number of learned men who frequented his
II. court, and who dignified his reign by the acknow-
 1492. ledged excellence of their productions.* Not to
 Æt. 17. dwell on the merits of Ottavio Cleofilo, Luca Riva,
 Lodovico Bigi, Tribenco Modonese, Lodovico
 Carro, and others, who cultivated Latin poetry
 with various success; the works of the two Strozzi,
 Tito Vespasiano, the father, and Ercole, the son,
 are alone sufficient to place Ferrara high in literary
 rank among the cities of Italy.

The two
 Strozzi.

These distinguished Latin poets were of the
 illustrious family of the same name at Florence,
 from

“ Hinc plebs, hinc equites plauserunt, inde senatus,
 “ Hinc cum Virgineo nupta caterva choro.”

Pandolfo Collenuccio of Pesaro, who excelled not only as a
 professor of the civil law, but in other departments of lite-
 rature, as appears from the correspondence between him
 and Politiano, (*Pol. Ep. lib. vii. Ep. 32. 35.*) produced
 two dramattick pieces for the theatre of Ferrara. The *An-
 ftrione*, printed at Venice, 1530, and *Joseph*, in 1564.
 Girolamo Berardo, of Ferrara, the Count Matteo Maria
 Boiardo, and Battista Guarino, also exerted their talents
 on this occasion. *Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. vi. 2. 187.*

* A contemporary writer assures us, that poets were as
 plentiful in the city, as frogs in the territory, of Ferrara.

“ Nam tot Ferraria vates,
 “ Quot ranas, tellus Ferrariensis, habet.”

*Bartol. Pag. Prignani. ap. Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. vi.
 2. 218.*

from whence Nanna Strozzi, the father of Tito, CHAP.
 passed to Ferrara in the military service of Niccolo II.
 III. in which he acquired great honour.^f The 1492.
 rank, the talents, and the learning of Tito, rendered Æt. 17.
 him a fit person to negotiate the affairs of Ercole,
 duke of Ferrara, with foreign powers, and he was
 accordingly employed as his ambassadour on several
 important missions. He also occasionally held
 some of the first offices in the state; in the execution
 of which, he appears to have incurred, at times,
 no small share of popular odium. In the midst,
 however, of the occupations and storms of his public
 life, he cultivated his talents for Latin poetry with
 unremitting attention, and has even endeavoured to
 render his compositions the vehicle of his justification
 to posterity.^g The writings of Tito are distinguished
 by their simplicity, and
purity

^f *Tit. Vesp. Strozze Epitaph. pro Nanne patre, in op.*
 145.

^g The scholars of the fifteenth century thought it as
 necessary to have an adversary, on whom they might lavish
 their abuse, as a mistress, to whom they might address
 their amorous effusions. The satirical talents of Tito are
 directed against some person, whom he denominates Go-
 rellus, and who, if we may credit the poet,

“ civilibus armis

“ Expulsus patria, jam quatuor exulat annos,

“ Damnatus Romæ furti, se carcere fracto

“ Eripuisse cruci fertur, Senamque profectus,

“ Dum cauti, atque manu prompti Lenonis, amicam

“ Pollicitus

CHAP. purity of diction, rather than by their strength of
 II. sentiment, or energy of style.^a In some of his

1492. pieces he has celebrated the antiquity of his family,

Æt. 17. and the opulence and achievements of his ancestors; whilst in others he has taken occasion to acquaint posterity with some particulars of his own life and character. Ercole Strozzi stands yet higher in the annals of literature, than his father. Eminently skilled in the Greek and Latin languages, he had not neglected the cultivation of his own, in which he wrote with distinguished elegance. By his fellow-citizen, Celio Calcagnini, he is celebrated for his integrity, his magnanimity, and his filial piety; and for all those qualities which endear a man to his friends, and to his country.ⁱ A short time before his death, Tito Strozzi had begun a Latin poem, in praise of Borso d'Este, of which he had completed ten books, and which he requested his son to

“ Pollicitus maria ac montes, abducere tentat,

“ Turpiter amisit, truncatis naribus, aures.”

He afterwards enters into a justification of his publick conduct. *v. Serm. ad Bonav. Pistophilum. Op. 142.*

^h We are informed by Tiraboschi, that many unpublished poems of this distinguished scholar remain in the ducal library at Modena “ ed alcune assai più eleganti di quelle, “ che han vedute la luce.”

• *Storia della Let. Ital. vi. par. ii. p. 209.*

ⁱ *Calcagnini, Oratio in Funere Herculis Stroza, in fine Strozz. Op. p. 148.*

to finish and publish, with a correct edition of his other poems; but Ercole did not survive long enough, either to complete the task imposed upon him, by the publication of his father's writings, or to correct his own; having been assassinated in the year 1508, and in the prime of life, by a nobleman who had unsuccessfully paid his addresses to the lady whom Ercole had married.¹ That task was therefore intrusted by Guido and Lorenzo, his surviving brothers, to the celebrated printer, Aldo Manuzio, who in the year 1513, gave these poems to the publick in an elegant and correct edition.

CHAP.
II.
1492.
Æt. 17.

In enumerating the learned men, who at this time resided in the state of Ferrara, it would be unpardonable to omit another accomplished scholar, and celebrated poet, who died in the year 1494, and who will not therefore occur again to our particular notice. The eminent Matteo Maria Boiardo, Count of Scandiano, was born in the territory of Ferrara

Boiardo.

¹ In one of his elegies, *lib. i. p. 69.* he seems not to have been without apprehensions of his untimely fate; after indulging in the idea that his mistress would lament his death, he adds—

“ Sed jam summa venit fatis urgentibus hora,
“ Ah ! nec amica mihi, nec mihi mater adest ;
“ Altera ut ore legat properæ suspiria vitæ,
“ Altera uti condat lumina, et ossa tegat.”

CHAP. Ferrara, about the year 1430, and spent in that city the chief part of his life, honoured with the favour and friendship of Borsò, and Ercole d'Este, and frequently intrusted by them, as governor of the subordinate cities in their dominion.^{*} Boiardo is principally known by his epick Romance, of *Orlando Innamorato*, of which the yet more celebrated poem of Ariosto, is not only an imitation, but a continuation. Of this work, he did not live to complete the third book, nor is it probable that any part of it had the advantage of his last corrections; yet it is justly regarded as exhibiting, upon the whole, a warmth of imagination, and a vivacity of colouring, which rendered it highly interesting;¹

nor

^{*} In particular, he held the chief command for several years at Reggio, where he died, on the twentieth day of February, 1494; as appears by a MS. chronicle of his contemporary, Bernardino de' Zambotti, cited by Mazzuchelli—"A di 20, Febbraro il Magnifico Conte Matteo Maria Boiardo, Signor di Scandiano, Capitano di Reggio, e della Cittadella, morì in Reggio, il quale era valente uomo, e dotto in versi, in prosa, e in rima; faceto, cauto, e sapientissimo; molto diletto al Duca nostro, e a tutta la casa d'Este," &c.

Scrittori d' Ital. v. v. p. 1438.

¹ The *Orlando Innamorato* was first printed in Scandiano, per Pellegrino Pasquali, ad istanza del Conte Camillo Boiardo, son of the author, about the year 1495, and afterwards in Venice about the year 1500; which latter de Bure erroneously cites as the first edition, *Bib. Instr. No.*

3377.

nor is it perhaps without reason, that the simplicity of the original has occasioned it to be preferred to the same work, as altered or reformed by Francesco Berni, who has carried the marvellous to such an extreme as to deprive his narrative of all pretensions to even poetick probability, and by his manifest attempts to be always jocular, has too often destroyed the effects of his jocularity.^m

C H A P.

II.

1492.

Æt. 17.

Less known, but not less valuable, than his epick poem, are the three books of sonnets, and lyrick pieces, by Boiardo, collected and published after his death, under the Latin title of *Amores*,ⁿ although

3377. The labours of Boiardo had terminated at the ninth canto of the third book, from which period, it was continued by Niccolò degli Agostini; and of this joint production, numerous editions have been published.

^m Besides the *rifacciamento* of this poem by Berni, of which the best editions are those of Calvo, *Milan*, 1542, and the Giunti, *Venice*, 1545; the poem was corrected and altered by Lodovico Dominichi, and published at Venice, by Girolamo Scotto, in 1545, and several times afterwards.

ⁿ Printed at Reggio, *per Maestro Francesco Mazolo*, in 1499, and at Venice, *per Sessa*, in 1501, 4to. "Rarissime sono amendue queste edizioni," says Mazzuchelli, v. p. 1443.—Besides this volume, Boiardo is the author of *Cinque Capitoli in terza rima sopra il Timore, la Gelosia, la Speranza, l'Amore, ed il Trionfo del vano mondo*; which have been frequently printed, with other detached poems by Benivieni

- GH A P. although wholly consisting of Italian poems. When
 II. it is considered, that the greater part of these pieces
 1492. were written at a time, when the Tuscan poetry
 At 17. was in its lowest state of debasement, we may just-
 ly be surprised at the choice of expression which
 they frequently display, and the purity of style by
 which they are almost invariably characterized. At
 the request of his great patron, Ercole, duke of
 Ferrara, Boiardo also composed his comedy of
Timone, founded on one of the dialogues of Lu-
 cian.^o Nor was Boiardo only one of the most
 eminent poets, he was also one of the most learned
 men of his age. From the Greek, he translated
 into his native tongue, the history of Herodotus,^p
 and the *Asinus* of Lucian.^q Of his Latin poetry,
 many

Benivieni and the Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, of which
 editions it may be sufficient to cite that of Venice, by *Niccolò*
d' Aristotele, detto Zoppino, 1537.

^o First printed without note of date, or place, after-
 wards in Scandiano, 1500, Venice, 1504, &c. " Questa
 " Commedia," says Mazzuchelli, " che è in terza rima, divisa
 " in cinque atti, è degna di stima per quanto portava quel
 " secolo; ed ha poi un pregio distinto, cioè, d'essere
 " considerata la più antica delle Commedie Italiane, come-
 " chè il Crescimbeni la ponga piuttosto nella specie delle
 " Farse." *Scrittori d' Italia*, v. 1443.

^p Frequently reprinted after the first edition of Venice,
 1533.

^q Printed at Venice with the *Proverbj* of Antonio Cor-
 nazzano

many specimens yet remain, and Tiraboschi has mentioned ten eclogues, in that language, inscribed to Ercole I. which are preserved in the ducal library of Modena, and which, as he assures us, are full of grace and elegance.

C. H. A. P.
II.
1492.
Æt. 17.

At this time, the celebrated Ariosto, who was destined to build his immortal work upon the foundation laid by Boiardo, was only eighteen years of age;* but even at this early period, he had exhibited that strong inclination to the cultivation of literature, and particularly of poetry, which distinguished him to the close of his days, and the story of *Thisbe*, as adapted by him to a dramatick form, was represented by himself, with his brothers and sisters, in his father's residence.† He was first destined to the study of the law; but after five years of irksome and unprofitable labour, he

Ariosto.

nazzano, by Zappino, 1523, 8vo. Several other works of Boiardo are cited by the indefatigable Mazzuchelli, *ut sup.*

* Tirab. *Storia della Letter. Ital.* vii. par. i. 176.

† His father, Nicolò di Rinaldo Ariosto, was a nobleman of Ferrara. In a passport granted to him in the year 1471, by Lodovico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, he is honoured with the title of Count, and denominated the friend of the Marquis. Tirab. *Storia della Let. Ital.* vii. par. iii. 100. Lodovico was born in the year 1474, at the Castle of Reggio, of which place his father was governour.

‡ Pigna, *i Romanzi.* p. 72.

CHAP. he finally quitted that occupation, and applied him-
 self to the cultivation of the Latin language, under
 the instructions of Gregory of Spoleto.* His pre-
 dilection for theatrical compositions, which he had
 further displayed in his two comedies, entitled
La Cassaria, and *I Suppositi*, both written in
 prose, whilst he was very young,† probably recom-
 mended him to the notice of Ercole I. whom he
 accompanied in the year 1491, to Milan, for the
 purpose of enjoying the theatrical amusements, by
 which that place was distinguished. From this
 time he devoted himself to the service of the
 family of Este, either in the court of the duke, or
 in that of the cardinal Ippolito, and will occur to
 our

“ Ah! lasso, quando ebbi al Pegaseo melo
 “ L’età disposta, e che le fresche guancie
 “ Non si vedeano ancor fiorir d’un pelo,
 “ Mio padre mi cacciò con spiedi e lancia
 “ Non che con sproni, a volger testi e chiose,
 “ E m’ occupò cinque anni in quelle ciancie.”

Ariost. Sat. 6.

“ Fortuna molto mi fu allora amica,
 “ Che mi offerse Gregorio da Spoleti,
 “ Che ragion vuol che sempre io benedica.
 “ Tenea d’ambe le lingue i bei secreti,” &c.

Ibid.

* They were afterwards altered into *versi sdruciofi*, by Ariosto, and have been frequently printed, as well separately, as together with his other works.

our future notice, not only as a poet, but as engaged in the political transactions of the times.

The city of Ferrara may indeed be considered as the cradle of modern epick poetry; * for, besides the two celebrated authors before mentioned, that place might at this time have boasted of a third, whose writings not only obtained for him, during his life time, a great share of celebrity, but have afforded passages which have since been imitated by the immortal Tasso. † Of their author, Francesco Cieco, very few particulars are known. That he had enjoyed the favour of the Cardinal Ippolito, and was therefore, in all probability, a native of Ferrara, may be inferred from the dedication of his epick poem, of *Mambriano*, published by his surviving relation, Eliseo Conoscurti, in the

* "In a period of near three thousand years," says Mr. Gibbon, adverting to the works of Ariosto and Tasso, in his *Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*, "five great epick poets have arisen in the world; and it is a singular prerogative, that two of the five should be claimed as their own, by a short age, and a petty state."

† Zeno, *note al Fontanini*, i. 259. where he conjectures, that this work was written about the time of the descent of Charles VIII. to the conquest of Naples, in 1494. It is entitled *Libro d' arme e d' amore, cognominato Mambriano, di Francesco Cieco da Ferrara. Ferratie, per Joannem Baciochum Mondenum, 20 Octobris, 1509, 4to.*

CHAP. the year 1509.² This piece, which extends to
 II. forty five cantos, relates the adventures of a king
 1492. of Asia, whose name forms the title of the work.
 14. 17. That it long maintained its rank with the great
 contemporary productions of Italy, is sufficiently
 apparent; and the neglect which it has in later
 times experienced, is attributed by Zeno, to its
 not having had the good fortune, like the *Orlando*
Innamorato of Boiardo, to meet with any one to
 continue its subject, or to reform its style.

Few persons enjoyed at this period a higher share of literary reputation, than Nicolo Lelio Cosmico, and few persons have so effectually lost that reputation in the estimation of posterity. He is not even enumerated by the diligent Crescimbeni as one of the poets of Italy; yet three editions of his works were printed in the fifteenth century,² and he is the frequent subject of applause among the

² "Prego che sotto il suo auspizio, Mambriano del
 "servitore suo venga impresso, e per suo solito benignitate
 "non neghi alla memoria d'esso Francescho quel favore,
 "di che vivendo lui, quelle tante volte gli fu liberalissimo."

² Quadrio enumerates only two editions, *Ven.* 1478, and
Vicenza 1481; but besides these, another edition of the
 fifteenth century, appears in the catalogue of the Pinelli
 library.

the most distinguished scholars of the time.^b He was a native of Padua, and spent some of his early years in the court of the marquis of Mantua; but the chief part of his life was passed in the society of the scholars of Ferrara. His own compositions were principally Italian; but he also aspired to the reputation of a Latin poet; and Giraldis, a judicious critick, whilst he censures the arrogant and satirical disposition of the author, acknowledges the merit of his writings. The freedom of his opinions, or of his conduct, incurred the notice of the inquisition; but the interference of Lodovico Gonzaga, not only protected him in this emergency, but has conferred an illustrious testimony on the character of

CHAP.
II.
1492.
Æt. 17.
Nicolo Lello
Cosmico.

^b Sabellicus, inviting his poetical contemporaries to celebrate the nativity of the Virgin, addresses himself to Cosmico—

“Nec decantati toties remorentur amores

* Te, mihi sed cultam, Cosmice, tende chelyn.”

He is also enumerated by Platina, in his treatise *De honesta voluptate*, or art of Cookery, among his temperate friends. *Lib. v. Cap. i.* And Giacomo delle Pellinere, Professor in Medicine and Moral Philosophy at Padua, has apostrophized him in an epistle in terza rima, addressed to Pamfilo Sasso—

“Cosmico, dove sei, col saove archetto?”

CHAP. of a writer, who is now no longer estimated from
 II. his own works. °

1492.

Æt. 17.

The attention paid by the family of Este to the promotion of literature, was emulated by that of the Gonzaghi, marquisses of Mantua, and the Montefeltri, dukes of Urbino. The intercourse which subsisted between these families, and which was founded on a union of political interests, and confirmed by the ties of consanguinity, gave indeed a common character to their courts. Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, married Isabella of Este, the daughter of Ercole I. duke of Ferrara; and Elizabetta, the sister of the marquis, became the wife of Guidubaldo da Montefeltri, duke of Urbino.

Guidubaldo
 da Montefel-
 tri, duke of
 Urbino.

Federigo, the father of Guidubaldo, had rendered his name illustrious throughout Italy, not only as a distinguished patron of learning, but by his military and political talents. In the rugged situation in which the city of Urbino is placed, he had erected a palace, which was esteemed one of the finest structures in Italy, and had furnished it in the most sumptuous manner, with vases of silver,
 rich

° In recommending Cosmico to the favour of his relation, Antonio da Bolza, Lodovico denominates him "Uomo virtuoso, ed existimato per tutta Italia."

Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. vi. par. ii. p. 225.

rich draperies of gold and silk, and other rare and splendid articles. To these he had added an extensive collection of statues, and busts, in bronze and marble, and of the most excellent pictures of the times; but the pride of his palace, and the envy of his contemporary princes, was the superb and copious selection of books, in the Greek, Latin, and other languages, with which he had adorned his library, and which he enriched with ornaments of silver, and of gold.^f If, however, the father was an admirer and a protector of literature, the son united to these characters that of a practical and accurate scholar. With the Latin language, we are told, he was as conversant as others are with their native tongue, and so intimate was his knowledge of the Greek, that he was acquainted with its minutest peculiarities, and its most refined elegancies. The love of study did not, however, extinguish in the bosom of Guidubaldo, that thirst for military glory, by which his ancestors had been uniformly characterized; and if his health had not been impaired by the gout, at an early period of life, he would probably have acquired, in the commotions which soon after this period disturbed the repose of Italy, a still higher reputation. In his biographers and panegyrists he has been peculiarly fortunate; the learned Pietro Bembo has devoted a considerable tract to the celebration of his merits,

C H A P.
II.
1492.
Pl. 15.

^f Castiglione, *lib. del Cortegiano*, lib. i.

CHAP. rits,^a and Baldassare Castiglione, in his admirable
 II. *Libro del Cortegiano*, has honoured his memory
 1492. with an eulogium which will probably be as dura-
 Et. 17. ble as the Italian language itself. His wife, Eliza-
 betta Gonzaga, is not less the subject of admiration
 and applause to both these authors; the latter of
 whom has, in the commencement of his work,
 given a striking picture of the vivacity, the taste,
 the elegance, the tempered wit, and decorous free-
 dom, by which the court of Urbino was at this
 period distinguished.^b Giovanna, sister of the
 duke, had intermarried, in the year 1475, with
 Giovanni della Rovere, one of the nephews of Six-
 tus IV. and brother of the cardinal Guiliano della
 Rovere, afterwards Julius II. on which occasion,
 Sixtus had invested his nephew with the principality
 of Sinigaglia, and the beautiful territory of Mon-
 davia. By him she had a son, Francesco Maria,
 who was educated at the court of Urbino, and suc-
 ceeded to his maternal uncle Guidubaldo, whom
 he, however, resembled much more in his military
 character, than in his literary accomplishments.

Francesco

^a *P. Bembo de Guido-Ubaldo Feretrio, deque Elisabetha Gonzaga Urbini ducibus, liber.* First printed at Venice, under the inspection of the author, in 1530.

^b The union of the duke and dutchess of Urbino was not crowned with the expected fruits of marriage, the reasons of which are detailed at great length by Bembo, *in Op.* v. iv. p. 299.

Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, had succeeded his father, Federigo, in the year 1484. Notwithstanding the many hazardous expeditions in which he was engaged, the numerous battles in which he held a principal command, and the adverse fortune which he on some occasions experienced, he found time to apply himself to the study of polite letters; and there is reason to believe, that he was the author of many sonnets, capitoli, and other verses, which have been printed in the collections of the ensuing century. His wife, Isabella of Este, was not less distinguished by her elegant accomplishments and refined taste, which led her to collect antique statues, cameos, medallions, and other specimens of art, some of which are celebrated in the verses of the poets of the time.ⁱ Nor was the court of Mantua deprived of those

C H A P.
II.
1492.
Æt. 17.
Francesco
Gonzaga,
marquis of
Mantua.

ⁱ V. Tirab. *Storia della Let. Ital.* vii. par. i. 53. Ariosto has devoted several stanzas in his 37th Canto to the celebration of the praises of the marquis, and Isabella of Este, his wife :

“ Di lei degno egli, e degna ella di lui ;
“ Nè meglio s'accoppiaro unq' altri dui.”

Stan. 11

That the marquis was distinguished by his literary productions may be conjectured from the following lines :

“ Dà insieme egli materia, ond' altri scriva,
“ E fa la gloria altrui scrivendo viva.”

Stan. 10.

CHAP. those honours, which the favour of the muses
 II. could alone confer. Among the men of talents,

1492. who either adopted that place as their constant resi-

Et. 17. dence, or enlivened it by their frequent visits, Giampietro Arrivabene, and Battista Mantuano, are entitled to particular notice. The former of these eminent men, was the scholar of Francesco Filelfo, who has addressed to him several of his letters, and who transformed his Italian name of Arrivabene, into the Greek appellation of *Euty chius*. That he enjoyed the confidential office of Latin secretary to the marquis Francesco, might be thought to confer sufficient honour on his memory; but he was also a man of blameless manners, uncommon eloquence, and a considerable share of learning. His principal work is his *Gonzagidos*, a Latin poem in four books, in praise of Lodovico, marquis of Mantua, who died in 1478, and not in 1484, as mentioned by Mazzuchelli. From this work, which is said to be written in a much more elegant style, than from his early age might have been expected, it appears, that the author had been present at many of the victories and transactions which he there relates. ^k

Battista

^k This poem was first printed by Meuschenius, in the beginning of the third volume of his collection, entitled *Vita summorum dignitate et eruditione virorum*.—Coburg, 1738. In the preface, the editor observes, that the poem is written “*elegantiori modo, quam a sua adhuc inculta*
 “*estate*

Battista Mantuano may be enumerated among C H A P.
 those writers who have had the good fortune to ob- II.
 tain, for a long time, a reputation superiour to 1492.
 their merits.¹ The applause which his works ex- Et. 17.
 cited was not confined to Italy, but extended Battista
 throughout Europe, where, under the name of Mantuano.
Mantuanus, or Mantuan, he was considered as
 another Virgil, whose writings might stand in
 competition with those of his immortal country-
 man. Nor can it be denied, that the productions
 of Battista evince a facility of conception, and a
 flow of language, which prove him to have been
 possessed of considerable talents. But in admit-
 ting that the native endowments of Battista might
 bear some comparison with those of his great pre-
 decessor, we are compelled to acknowledge, that
 he was strangely defective in the method of em-
 ploying his abilities to the best advantage. Of all
 authors, there are perhaps few, or none, who have
 been

“ ætate vix aliquis expectare poterat.” *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d’Ital.* ii. 1198. *Tirab.* vi. 2. 230.

¹ It is generally believed that Battista was of illegitimate birth; but the attention paid by his father, Pietro Spagnuolo, to his improvement, enabled him not only to make an early and considerable proficiency in polite literature, but to arrive at the rank of general of his order. Respecting the circumstances of his birth, different opinions have, however, been entertained, which the reader will find fully stated in the *Menagiana*, vol. i. p. 273.

C H A P. been less satisfied with their own productions, than

II. the Roman bard. However we may estimate the

1492. powers of his imagination, or the melody of his

Æt. 17. verse, his taste was still superiour to his other ac-

complishments; and his efforts were unremitting,

to arrive at that standard of perfection, which he

had conceived in his own mind.^m It is well

known that after having bestowed the labour of

twelve years on his immortal poem, the convic-

tion which he felt of its imperfections deter-

mined him, in his last moments, to order it to

be committed to the flames; and it was only by

a breach of his solemn testamentary injunction,

that this work has been preserved for the ad-

miration of posterity.ⁿ To the conduct of the

ancient

^m “ Amici, familiaresque P. Virgilii, dicere eum soli-
 “ tum ferunt, parere se versus more atque ritu ursino.
 “ Namque, ut illa bestia fœtum ederet ineffigiatum infor-
 “ memque, lambendoque id postea, quod ita edidisset,
 “ conformaret et fingeret, proinde ingenii quoque sui par-
 “ tus recentes rudi esse facie et imperfecta: sed deinceps
 “ tractando, colendoque, reddere iis se oris et vultus linea-
 “ menta.” *Aul. Gel. lib. xvii. cap. 10.*

ⁿ “ Divus Augustus carmina Virgilii cremari contra
 “ testamenti ejus verecundiam vetuit; majusque ita vati
 “ testimonium contigit, quam si ipse sua carmina proba-
 “ visset.” *Plin. lib. vii. cap. 30.* P. Crinitus, *De Poetis*
Latinis, lib. iii. in op. p. 447. has cited a beautiful copy
 of verses addressed to Augustus on this subject.



ancient poet, that of the modern, was an exact reverse; and if they originally started from the same ground, they bent their course in opposite directions. Of the productions of Battista, the earliest are incomparably the best, and as these seem to have gratified his readers, so it is probable they delighted himself. As he advanced in years, he poured out his effusions with increasing facility, until he lost even the power of discriminating the merit of his own productions. From his long poem, *De Calamitatibus temporum*, the historian might hope to select some passages, which might elucidate his researches; but in this he will be disappointed; the adherence of Battista to the track of the ancients, having prevented him from entering into those particulars, which would have rendered his works interesting; whilst the heavy commentary in which they have been enveloped, by Badius Ascenscius, presents them in so formidable an aspect to the modern reader, as fully to account for that neglect, which they have for a long time past experienced.

The tranquillity which had now for some years reigned in Italy, had introduced into that country an abundance, a luxury, and a refinement, almost unexampled in the annals of mankind. Instead of contending for dominion and power, the sovereigns and native princes of that happy region, attempted to rival each other in taste, in splendour, and in elegant accomplishments; and it was considered as

Lodovico Sforza encourages men of talents.

C H A P. essential to their grandeur, to give their household

II. establishments a literary character. Hence their

1492. palaces became a kind of polite academy, in which

Æt. 17. the nobility of both sexes found a constant exercise for their intellectual talents; and courage, rank, and beauty, did not hesitate to associate with taste, with learning, and with wit. In this respect, the court of Milan was eminently distinguished. By the ostentatious liberality of Lodovico Sforza, who then held, in the name of his nephew Galeazzo, but directed at his own pleasure, the government of that place, several of the most distinguished artists and scholars of the time, were induced to fix their residence there. Among the former of these, the celebrated Lionardo da Vinci deservedly holds the most conspicuous place. This extraordinary man, who united in himself the various qualifications of a painter, a sculptor, a poet, a musician, an architect, and a geometrician, and who in short, left untouched very few of those objects, which have engaged the attention of the human faculties, was born about the year 1443, at the castle of Vinci in Valdarno. After having given striking indications of superiour talents, he for some time availed himself of the instructions of Andrea Verocchio, whom he soon surpassed in such a degree, as to render him dissatisfied with the efforts of his own pencil. His singular productions in every branch of art had already excited the admiration of all Italy, when he was invited by Lodovico, in the year 1492, to fix his residence at Milan. By his
astonishing

Lionardo da
Vinci.

astonishing skill in musick, which he performed on a kind of lyre of his own invention, and by his extraordinary facility as an *Improvvisatore*, in the recitation of Italian verse, no less than by his professional talents, he secured the favour of his patron, and the applauses of the Milanese court. Lodovico had, however, the judgment to avail himself of the opportunity afforded him by this great artist, to enrich the city of Milan with some of the finest productions of his pencil; and if the abilities of Lionardo were to be estimated by a single effort, his panegyrist might perhaps select his celebrated picture of the last supper, in the refectory of the Dominicans, as the most valuable of his works. In this piece it was doubtless the intention of the painter to surpass whatever had before been executed, and to represent, not merely the external form and features, but the emotions and passions of the mind, from the highest degree of virtue and beneficence in the character of the Saviour, to the extreme of treachery and guilt in that of Iscariot; whilst the various sensations of affection and veneration, of joy and of sorrow, of hope and of fear, displayed in the countenances and gestures of the disciples, might express their various apprehensions of the mysterious rite. In the midst sits the great founder, dispensing with unshaken firmness, from either hand, the emblems of his own approaching sufferings. The agitation of the disciples is marked by their contrasted attitudes, and various expressions.

C H A P.

II.

1492.

Æt. 17.

CHAP. sions. Treachery and inhumanity seem to be concentrated in the form and features of Judas Iscariot, II. 1492. In representing the countenance of Christ, he found, however, the powers of the artist inadequate to the conceptions of his own mind. To step beyond the limits of earth, and to diffuse over these features a ray of divinity, was his bold, but fruitless attempt. The effort was often renewed, and as often terminated in disappointment and humiliation. Despairing of success, he disclosed his anxiety to his friend and associate, Bernardo Zenale, who advised him to desist from all further endeavours; in consequence of which, this great work was suffered to remain imperfect. Nor did Lionardo, in acknowledging with Timanthes, the inefficacy of his skill, imitate that artist in the method which he adopted on that occasion. Agamemnon conceals his face in his robe, and the imagination of the spectator is at liberty to supply the defect; but in marking the head of his principal figure by a simple outline, Lionardo openly avows his inability, and leaves us only to regret, either the pusillanimity of the painter, or the impotence of his art. °

In

° *Vasari, in vita di Lionardo. Borghini, il Riposo. 368, & seq.* Notwithstanding the assertions of the above authors, and that of M. Mariette in later times, *Lettere sulla Pittura, &c. vol. ii. let. 84.* that Lionardo left the head of Christ in an unfinished state, Richardson assures us, that their

In a mind devoted to ambition, all other pas-
 sions and pursuits are only considered as auxiliary
 to its great object; and there is too much reason
 to suspect, that the apparent solicitude of Lodovico
 Sforza for the promotion of letters and the arts,
 was not so much the result of a disposition sincerely
 interested in their success, as an instrument of his
 political aggrandizement. That the supplanting
 the elder branch of his family, and vesting in him-
 self and his descendants, the government of Milan,
 had long been in his contemplation, cannot be
 doubted; and it is therefore highly probable that,
 after ingratiating himself with the populace, and
 securing the alliance and personal friendship of
 foreign

C H A P.

II.

1492.

Æt. 17.

Eminent
scholars at
the court of
Milan.

their information is false, and that such part of the face
 as yet remains entire, is highly finished, *Traité de la pein-
 ture, &c. vol. iii.* The account given by Richardson is,
 in like manner, accused of being grossly incorrect, by the
 author of a modern description of Italy, in 4 vols. 8vo.
London, 1781. As it can scarcely be imagined, that any of
 these authors would be guilty of wilful misrepresentation
 on a subject of such a nature, and in which their testi-
 mony would be always exposed to contradiction, may we
 not reasonably suppose that, according to the united testi-
 mony of all the elder writers, the head was left unfinished;
 but that in the course of the repairs which the picture has
 undergone, some sacrilegious hand has dared to trace
 those features, from which the modest genius of Lionardo
 shrunk in despair? This suggestion appears highly pro-
 bable from the notes on the *Lettere sulla Pittura, &c. vol.
 ii. p. 183.*

C H A P. foreign powers, he would endeavour to strengthen
 II. his authority by the favour and support of men of
 1492. learning, who at this time possessed a more decided
 Et. 17. influence on the political concerns of the country
 than at any other period. But by whatever motives Lodovico was actuated, it is allowed, that whilst the state of Milan was under his control, the capital was thronged with celebrated scholars, several of whom adopted it as their permanent residence. On Bernardo Bellincione, a Florentine, he conferred the title of his poet laureat; and in the works of this author, printed at Milan in 1493, are inserted some stanzas which have been attributed to Lodovico himself. Among those who at this period contributed by their talents to give splendour to the court of Milan, were Antonio Cornazzano,^p Giovanni Filoteo Achillini,

^p A native of Piacenza, who, having adopted a military life, held a respectable rank under the celebrated Venetian general Bartolommeo Coglioni, of whom he has left a life, written in Latin, and published by Burman; but a great part of his time was passed at Milan, where he was highly favoured by the family of Sforza. His works, both in Italian and Latin, in verse and in prose, are very numerous, and his poem, *De re Militari*, in nine books, in *terza rima*, has frequently been printed. His sonnets and lyric pieces, are however considered as the most valuable of his works, and are acknowledged by Quadrio to be among the best in the Italian language—"delle migliori che abbia la volgar poesia."—In the latter part of his life he quitted the court
 of

ni,^q Gasparo Visconti,^r Benedetto da Cingoli, Vin- c H A P.
cenzo Calmeta,^s and Antonio Fregoso.^t Nor were II.
there 1492.

Æt. 17.

of Milan for that of Ferrara, where he terminated his days ;
having enjoyed the patronage of the dutchess, Lucrezia, of
whom he makes frequent and honourable mention in his
works. *Cornazzano, de re militari. Ven. 1526. Sonetti e*
Canz. Ven. 1508. Tiraboschi vi. par. ii. p. 160

^q Author of an Italian poem in *ottava rima*, entitled, *Il*
Viridario, printed at Bologna, 1513, and of several other
works. He also distinguished himself by his knowledge
of Greek and Latin, his proficiency in musick, and his
acquaintance with medals, statues, and other monuments
of antiquity, of which he had formed a large collection. He
died in 1538, at 72 years of age ; but his poetry, of which
specimens appear in sundry collections, has all the charac-
teristick rusticity of the 15th century, when, says Cres-
cimbeni, “andò spargendo gemme tra’l fango.”

^r A nobleman of Milan, who married Cecilia, the
daughter of the celebrated Cecco Simoneta, and died at
38 years of age, in 1499. His sonnets and other verses
were published at Milan in 1493, and obtained him such
reputation, that he was considered, for a time, as not
inferiour to Petrarca ; but posterity has formed a different
judgment. *Tirab. vi. par. ii. p. 253.*

^s Benedetto da Cingoli, and Vincenzo Calmeta, are
enumerated by Quadrio, II. 211. among the poets who at
this time honoured the city of Milan by their residence,
and whose verses are found in the collections of the times.
The works of the former were also collected and published
with those of his brother, Gabriello, at Rome, in 1503.
Tirab. vi. par. ii. p. 159.

^t Called also *Fulgoso* and *Camhofregoso*. From his
love

- C H A P. there wanting distinguished scholars in the graver
 II. departments of literature ; of which number were
 1492. Bartolommeo Calchi and Giacompo Antiquario, cele-
 Et. 17. brated not only for their own acquirements, but for
 their liberality in promoting the improvement of
 others ; Donato Bossi, commemorated both as an
 eminent professor of law, and an industrious histo-
 rian ;^a Dionysius Nestor, whose early labours high-
 ly contributed to the improvement of the Latin
 tongue ;
-

love of solitude, he also assumed the name of *Phileremo*. His chief residence was at the court of Milan, which he quitted on the expulsion of Lodovico Sforza, and retired to his villa at Colterano. His *Cerva Bianca* is an Italian poem of considerable extent, written with great facility, and occasionally interspersed with beautiful description, and genuine poetry. For his adoption of the *ottava rima* he apologizes by the example of Lorenzo de' Medici, and Agnolo Polittiano. This poem has been several times reprinted ; particularly at Venice, 1521, 1525. The first of these editions is entitled *Opera nova del magnifico Cavaliero Messer Antonio Phileremo Fregoso, intitulata CERVA BIANCA*. His *Dialogo di Fortuna*, consists of 18 *capitoli*, in *terza rima*, Ven. 1531. Besides these, he is also the author of another poem, *Il riso di Democrito, e il pianto d' Eracrito*, in 30 *Capitoli* : but this work has hitherto eluded my researches.

^a His chronicle of the principal events, from the earliest records to his own times, is of occasional use, particularly with respect to the affairs of Milan. This work was printed at Milan in 1492, by Antonio Zaroti, and is dedicated to the reigning duke Giovan-Galeazzo ; not, however, without great commendations of Lodovico, whose *loyalty* and *fidelity* the author particularly celebrates.

tongue; * and Pontico Virunio, deservedly held in great esteem, both as a scholar and a statesman, and who will demand more particular notice in the transactions of the succeeding century.

C H A P.
II.
1492.
Æt. 17.

From the commencement of the century, the city of Bologna had endeavoured to maintain its independence against the superiour power of the dukes of Milan, and the continual pretensions of the pontifical see. The chiefs of the noble family of Bentivoglio were regarded by their fellow citizens as the patrons and assertors of their liberties, and after various struggles, in which they had frequently been expelled from their native place, they concentrated in themselves the supreme authority,

The Bentivogli of Bologna.

* He was a native of Novara, and a descendant of the noble family of Avvenada, of the order of the Minorites. His vocabulary of the Latin tongue, printed in folio at Milan, in 1483, and afterwards at Venice 1488, may be considered as one of the first attempts in modern times to facilitate the study of that language, and displays an intimate acquaintance with the writings of the ancients, which are diligently cited as authorities throughout the work. To the earliest edition is prefixed a copy of Latin verses addressed to Lodovico Sforza, and towards the close are several poems of the same author, both Italian and Latin. The following colophon concludes the book :

Opus Mediolani impressum per Leonardum Pachel et Uldericum Sinczenceler, de Alemannia Socios, Anno Domini M.CCCC.LXXXIII. pridie nonas Januarias.

VOL. I.

Y

CHAP. thority, under limitations which secured to the
 II. people the exercise of their ancient rights. This
 1492. authority had now, for nearly half a century, been
 Et. 17. conceded to Giovanni Bentivoglio, who was only
 two years of age when his father Annibale was
 treacherously murdered by the rival faction of the
 Canedoli, in the year 1445, and who frequently
 occurs to notice, both in the political and literary
 annals of the time. The merit of Giovanni, as a
 friend and promoter of learning and of art, was,
 however, eclipsed by that of his three sons, Hermes,
 Annibale, and Galeazzo, all of whom are frequently
 commemorated in the writings of their contemporaries;
 and particularly in those of Antonio Urceo,
 usually denominated Codrus Urceus, who by his
 scientifick and critical acquirements, deservedly
 held a high rank among the scholars of Italy.

Codrus Ur-
 ceus.

This author was born at Rubiera, in the year 1446. His appellation of *Codrus* was derived from an incident that occurred to him at the city of Forli, where happening one day to meet with Pino Degli Ordelaſſi, then lord of that place, who recommended himself to his favour, "Good heavens," exclaimed the poet, "the world is in a pretty state when Jupiter recommends himself to Codrus." During his residence at Forli, where he was intrusted with the education of Sinibaldo, the son of Pino, he met with a disaster which

which had nearly deprived him of his reason." C H A P. II.
 Having incautiously left his study without extin- 1492.
 guishing his lamp, his papers took fire, by which Æt. 17.
 many literary productions, which stood high in his own estimation, were destroyed ; and particularly a poem entitled *Pastor*. In the first impulse of his passion he vented his rage in the most blasphemous imprecations, and rushing from the city, passed the whole of the day in a wood in the vicinity, without nutriment. Compelled by hunger to return in the evening, he found the gates closed, and took up his lodgings for the night on a dung-hill. When he again obtained admission into the city, he shut himself up in the house of an artificer, where for six months he abandoned himself to melancholy and grief. After a residence of about thirteen years at Forlì he was invited to Bologna, where he was appointed professor of grammar and eloquence, and where he passed in great credit the

* Codrus survived both his patron and his pupil, the latter of whom was deprived of his territories by Girolamo Riario, in the year 1480, after his family had possessed them upwards of 150 years ; and has devoted the following epitaph to their memory.

" Tertius armorum pacis quoque gloria Pinus

" Ordelaphus, per quem nomina sanguis habet.

" Hic nati gremio Sinibaldi continet ossa ;

" Ossa ducem quinto mense secuta patrem.

" Æquus uterque fuit princeps tibi, Livia, post quos

" Ordelaphi sceptris mox cecidere suis."

CHAP. the remainder of his days. Of his extraordinary
 II. learning it might be considered as a sufficient
 1492. proof, that Politiano submitted his Greek epigrams,
 Et. 17. and other writings, to his examination and correc-
 tion; but his talents and acquirements more fully
 appear in his own works, which consist of *Sermones*,
 or essays; of letters to Politiano, Aldo, and others
 of his learned friends, and of poems on a great
 variety of subjects; among which the praises of
 the family of Bentivoglio form the most conspi-
 cuous part. He died in the year 1500. After
 his death his productions were collected by the
 younger Filippo Berealdo, who had lived with him
 in friendly intimacy, and published at Bologna in
 the year 1502, with a preface, in which he highly
 extols the poetical effusions of his friend. Succeed-
 ing criticks have however been less indulgent to
 his fame: Giraldi, whilst he admits that the
 writings of Codrus are sufficiently correct, denies
 to them the charm of poetry, and Tiraboschi is
 of opinion, that neither his prose nor his verse
 can be recommended as models of elegance. That
 the poems of Codrus are not entitled to the highest
 rank among those of his contemporaries will suffi-
 ciently appear from the lines addressed to Galeazzo
 Bentivoglio, as an acknowledgment for the honour
 done to the poet in placing his portrait amongst
 those of the learned men which Galeazzo had col-
 lected. Such a subject was certainly calculated
 to call forth all his powers, but those efforts which
 were

were intended to justify, will perhaps be thought rather to impeach the judgment of his patron. C H A P.
II.

1492.

Among the men of talents who at this period contributed to support the literary character of Italy, it would be unjust to omit Piero Ricci; or, as he denominated himself, according to the custom of the times, *Petrus Crinitus*. This notice of him is the more necessary, as little is to be found respecting him in those works of general information, where he ought to have held a conspicuous rank, and that little is for the most part erroneous.^x He was descended from the noble and opulent Florentine family of the *Ricci*,^y and had the good fortune when young, to avail himself of the instructions,

Æt. 17.
Petrus Crinitus.

^x The notices of Crinitus by Tiraboschi, founded on the equivocal testimony of Jovius and Negri, are peculiarly brief and unsatisfactory.

^y Jovius, absurdly enough, informs us, that Piero derived his name from the curled locks of his father, *dall' intorta & inanellata capillatura del padre*; but from whatever cause the family appellation might originally arise, it was of much greater antiquity than Jovius supposed. The *Ricci* being called by Negri, *Famiglia antichissima & nobilissima*. The latter author, however, with no less absurdity than Jovius, adds, that Crinitus was, on account of his own curled locks (*arriciata bionda sua Capigliera*) called *Pietro di crista chioma*, which he transformed into the Latin name of *Crinitus*. But it is apparent that this name is only his family appellation latinized.

CHAP. tions, and to obtain the friendship of Politiano.

II. Hence he was introduced into the family of the

1492. Medici, and became an associate in those literary

Æt. 17. and convivial meetings at the palace of the Medici

in Florence, or at their different seats in the coun-

try, which he has himself occasionally celebrated

in his writings.^a It is not therefore surprising,

that on the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent, he

honoured his memory in a Latin ode, which he

addressed to Pico of Mirandula; but it is remark-

able, that in this production (if indeed it was written

at the time to which it relates) he has predicted in

forcible terms the approaching calamities of Italy.^a

After this event, Crinitus still continued to enjoy

at Florence the society of Pico and of Politiano;

till the death of these distinguished scholars, which

happened within two months of each other, in the

year 1494.^b It may serve as an instance of the

negligence with which literary memoirs are often

written, and of the necessity of a more intimate

acquaintance with the general history of the times,

to

^a V. *Life of Lor. de' Medici*, ii. 140. 4to. ed.

^a At tu mœsta novis patria lachrymis
Indulge; nec enim cernere adhuc potes
Quantum mox miseris civibus imminet
Fatorum gravis exitus.

Nania, de obitu Laur. Med. Crin. op. p. 529.

^b Crinitus has also consecrated a Latin poem to the memory of each of his friends, *in. op. p. 532, 563.*

to notice some of the errors to which the Life of C H A P.
 Crinitus has given rise. By one author we are II:
 informed, that after the death of Politiano, Crinitus 1492.
 was intrusted by Lorenzo de' Medici with the Æt. 17.
 instruction of his children, and that this example
 was followed by the principal nobility of Florence,
 who rejoiced in having obtained such a successour
 to so accomplished a preceptor.^c If this were true,
 Crinitus would be entitled to our more particular
 notice, as one of the early instructors of Leo X.
 but when we recollect, that at the time of the death
 of Politiano, Lorenzo had been dead upwards of
 two years, we are compelled to reject this infor-
 mation as wholly groundless. Another author,
 who was a contemporary with Crinitus, has how-
 ever informed us, that at the death of Politiano,
 Crinitus continued to deliver instructions to the
 younger branches of the Medici family, and others
 of the Florentine nobility;^d forgetting that the
 Medici were, about the time of the death of Poli-
 tiano,

^c “ Quel gran Mecenati de' virtuosi, Lorenzo de' Me-
 dici, non dubitò confidare alla di lui direzione nelle lettere
 “ i suoi figliuoli, dopo la morte del Poliziano; e fu seguito
 “ il di lui esempio da tutta la nobile gioventù, che lo godè
 “ successore d'un sì valente maestro.”

Negri, Scrittori Fiorent. p. 462.

^d Morto il Politiano, meritò (Crinito) d'essere in grado
 di compagno, e di precettore appresso quei Giovanni de'
 Medici & d'altri nobili, che davano opera alle buone lettere.

Giovio, Iscritt. p. 106.

CHAP. tiano, expelled from Florence, and became fugi-
 II. tives in different parts of Italy, where they could
 1492 not avail themselves of the precepts of Crinitus,
 Al. 17. and where indeed they had other occupations than
 the studies of literature. It is therefore more pro-
 bable that Crinitus, after this period, quitted his
 native place, and took an active part in the com-
 motions which soon afterwards occurred; as he
 frequently refers in his writings to the labours and
 misfortunes which he has sustained, and avows
 his determination to return to his literary studies.^e
 That he passed some part of his time at Naples
 may be presumed, not only from his intimacy with
 Bernardo Caraffa, Tomaso Fusco, and other Nea-
 politan scholars, but from the particular interest
 which he appears to have taken on behalf of the
 house of Aragon, and the vehemence with which
 he inveighs against the French in his writings.
 In this respect his opinions were directly opposed
 to those of his friend Marullus, who openly es-
 poused the cause of Charles VIII. It may also be
 conjectured that he passed a part of his time at
 Ferrara, where having, by accident, fallen into the
 Po, and escaped with safety, he addressed an ode
 of gratitude to the river.^f We are informed by
 Negri,

^e *De sua quiete post multas calamitates. Crin. op. p. 531.*

^f *Carmen Charisticon, ad Eridanum fluvium, pro recepta salute, cum in eum decidisset. op. Crin. p. 543.*

Negri, that Crinitus died about the close of the CHAP. fifteenth century, at the age of thirty nine years ;^g II: but his writings refer to many events beyond that 1492. period ; and his dedication of his treatise *De Poetis* Est. W. *Latinis*, to Cosmo de' Pazzi, then bishop of Arezzo, and afterwards archbishop of Florence, nephew of Lorenzo the Magnificent, is dated in the year 1505, which period, it is however probable, he did not long survive. We are also informed that his death was occasioned by the irregularity of his conduct and the licentiousness of his friends, one of whom, in the frolicks of a convivial entertainment, at the villa of Pietro Martelli, poured over him a vessel of water, with the disgrace of which he was so greatly affected, that he died in a few days.^h Not to insist merely on the improbability of such a narrative, a sufficient proof that the life of Crinitus was not terminated by any sudden accident, appears in his beautiful and pathetick Latin ode on his long sickness and approaching death, from which we find, that he had struggled with a tiresome feverish indisposition, which had baffled the skill of his physicians, and in which he resigns himself, to his untimely fate ; at the same time asserting his claim to the esteem of posterity from the integrity of his life and conduct. From the

^g Negri, *Scrittori Fiorent.* p. 462.

^h Negri, *ubi. sup.* *Giovio Iscritt*, 106.

CHAP. the same piece we also learn, that he intended to
 II. have written a poem on the descent of the French
 1493. into Italy, but this, with many other works, was
 Et. 17. left unfinished. After the death of Politiano, Crinitus assisted his friend Alessandro Sarti, in collecting the works of that great scholar, for the edition printed by Aldo Manuzio, in 1498. The principal work of Crinitus, *De Honesta Disciplina*, as well as his treatise on the Latin poets before mentioned, demonstrates the extent of his learning and the accuracy of his critical taste,¹ and in these respects are not unworthy the disciple of his great preceptor.¹ His poetry, all of which is in the Latin language, is also entitled to commendation, and will occasionally be adduced in the following pages, as illustrating the publick transactions of the times in which he lived.

It

¹ He was the first who pointed out the mistake of the learned respecting the supposititious elegies of Cornelius Gallus; a subject which has given rise to great diversity of opinion.

v. *Menagiana*, tom. i. p. 336.

¹ A few Letters of Crinitus appear in the works of Politiano, *Ep. lib. xii.* and in those of Giovanni Francesco Pico of Mirandula, p. 839. Andreas Dactius has commemorated him in the following epitaph:

“ Heus audi, properes licet Viator,
 “ Criniti, tumulo teguntur isto,
 “ Dilecti cineres sacris camœnis.
 “ Hoc scires volui. Recede felix.”

It may not be improper to close this general view of the state of literature in Italy, in the year 1492, with some account of a person, whose incalculable services to the cause of sound learning, obtrude themselves upon our notice at every step, and the productions of whose skill are at every moment in the hands of the historian of this period. This can only be referred to the eminent printer Aldo Manuzio, to whom the world is indebted, not only for the works of many of the ancient authors, which he either first discovered, or first published in a correct form, but for those of many of his contemporaries, which without his unparalleled industry would not have been preserved to the present day. At this precise time he was making preparations for his laudable purpose, and had determined to devote his learning, his resources, his industry, and his life, to the service of literature. But before we advert to the measures which he adopted for this great and commendable end, it cannot be thought uninteresting briefly to commemorate the previous events of his life.

Aldo Manuzio was born about the year 1447, at Bassiano, a village within the Roman territory, whence he styles himself *Aldus Manutius Bassianus*; but more frequently *Aldus Romanus*.^{*} Maittaire justly

^{*} In the scarce edition of the *Thesaurus Cornucopiæ*, of Varino Camerti, printed by Aldo in 1496, he styles himself *Aldus Manutius Bassianus Romanus*.

C H A P. justly observes, that it was a fortunate circumstance,
 11. that the birth of so skilful an artist should have
 1492. happened at the very time when the art itself was
 Et. 17. first meditated. Respecting his education, he has
 himself informed us, that he lost a great part of
 his time in acquiring the principles of Latin gram-
 mar by the rules of Alessandro de Villadei,¹ the
 book then commonly used in the schools ; but this
 disadvantage was soon afterwards compensated by
 the instructions which he obtained, in the Latin
 tongue, from Gasparo Veronese at Rome, and in
 both Latin and Greek, from Battista Guarino who
 then resided at Ferrara, at which place Aldo also
 took up his abode.² Under such tutors the pro-
 ficiency of such a scholar was rapid, and at an early
 age Aldo became himself an instructor, having been
 intrusted with the education of Alberto Pio, lord
 of

¹ This grammarian lived in the early part of the thirteenth century. His work is written in barbarous Latin verse, which the pupils were compelled to repeat by memory. Manni has given, from a MS. copy in his own possession, a specimen of this pedantick, but once celebrated production, which thus commences :

“ Scribere clericulis paro doctrinale novellis
 “ Pluraquē doctorum sociabo scripta meorum,
 “ Jamque legent pueri pro nugis Maximiani
 “ Quæ veteres sociis nolebant pandere caris.” &c.

Manni, vita di Aldo, p. 7. ed Ven. 1759.

² *Aldi Manutii pref. ad Theocritum, &c. Ven. 1495.*

of Carpi, who was nearly of his own age.^a With this young nobleman he contracted a friendship which proved throughout his life of the greatest service to him, and which was afterwards manifested by his disciple conceding to him the honourable privilege of using his family name, whence Aldus has often denominated himself *Aldus Pius Manutius*.

CHAP.
II.
1492.
Æt. 17.

In the year 1482, when the safety of Ferrara was threatened by the formidable attack of the Venetians, Aldo retreated to Mirandola,^o where he contracted a strict intimacy with the celebrated Giovanni

His acquaintance with Alberto Pio, lord of Carpi, and Pico of Mirandola.

^a The subsequent commotions of Italy, in which Alberto acted an important part, have probably deprived the world of the fruits of his literary studies. Such at least, is the inference which arises from the following passage, in the dedication to him of the Aldine edition of Lucretius, at the time when he was engaged as the Imperial envoy at the court of Rome: "Deus perdat pernicioſa hæc bella, quæ te perturbant, quæ te tamdiu avertunt a ſacris ſtudiis literarum; nec ſinunt ut quiete, et, quod ſemper cupiviſti atque optaſti, fruaris otio, ad eas artes, quibus à puero deditus fuiſti, celebrandas; jam aliquem fructum dediffes ſtudiorum tuorum utilem ſane et nobis et poſteris: qua te privari re, ita moleſte fers, et nullam aliam ob cauſam, credendum ſit, nuper te Romæ tam gravi morbo laboraſſe, ut de ſalute tua et timerent boni omnes et angerentur."

^o *Aldi Ep. in Ep. Polit. lib. vii.*

CHAP. Giovanni Pico. His intercourse with these two
II. men of distinguished rank and learning continued
 1492. with uninterrupted esteem, and Alberto had ex-
 Et. 17. pressed an intention of investing him with the
 government of a part of his territory of Carpi;
 but this project was relinquished for one which
 proved more honourable to Aldo, and more use-
 ful to mankind. In the friendly interviews which
 took place among these individuals, the idea was
 gradually formed of the great undertaking which
 Aldo was destined to carry into effect, and in
 which, as it has been with great probability con-
 jectured, he was to have the support and pecuniary
 assistance of his two illustrious friends.

Motives of
 Aldo, for un-
 dertaking to
 print and
 publish the
 works of the
 ancients.

Of the liberal motives by which Aldo was
 actuated, he has left to posterity abundant evidence.
 "The necessity of Greek literature is now," says
 he, "universally acknowledged, insomuch, that
 "not only our youth endeavour to acquire it, but
 "it is studied even by those advanced in years.
 "We read but of one Cato among the Romans
 "who studied Greek in his old age, but in our
 "times we have many Catos, and the number of
 "our youth, who apply themselves to the study of
 "Greek, is almost as great as of those who study
 "the Latin tongue; so that Greek books, of which
 "there are but few in existence, are now eagerly
 "sought after. But by the assistance of Jesus
 "Christ, I hope ere long to supply this deficiency,
 "although it can only be accomplished by great
 "labour,

"labour, inconvenience, and loss of time. Those	CHAP.
"who cultivate letters must be supplied with books	II.
"necessary for their purpose, and till this supply	1492.
"be obtained I shall not be at rest." ^p	Æt. 17.

But although the publication of the Greek authors appears to have been his favourite object, and always occupied a great part of his attention, yet he extended his labours to other languages, and to every department of learning. The place which he chose for his establishment was Venice, already the most distinguished city in Italy for the attention paid to the art, and where it was most probable that he might meet with those materials and assistants which were necessary for his purpose.^q In making the preparations requisite for commencing his work he was indefatigable; ^r but the

Establishes
his press at
Venice, and
founds an
academy
there.

^p v. *Aldi Epist. Aristoteli Organo* 1495, *præfixam, et Maittaire. Annal.* i. 69. His magnanimity and publick spirit appear also from many other passages in his own writings.

^q If this city has not produced many authors of the first eminence, it has compensated the world by multiplying and perpetuating the works of others. Yet Venice is not without its panegyrists: thus Battista Mantuanus—

"Semper apud Venetos studium sapientiæ et omnis

"In pretio doctrina fuit; superavit Athenas

"Ingeniis, rebus gestis, Lacedæmona et Argos."

^r Maittaire conjectures, that he was employed in these preparations four or five years; but from the preface of
Aldus

CHAP. the more particular object of his wishes was the
II. discovery of some method, by which he might
 1492. give to his publications a greater degree of correct-
 Et 17. ness than had been attained by any preceding artist.
 To this end he invited to his assistance a great
 number of distinguished scholars, whom he pre-
 vailed upon by his own influence and that of his
 friends, or the stipulation of a liberal reward, to
 take up their residence at Venice. That he might
 attach them still more to the place and to each
 other, he proposed the establishment of a literary
 association, or academy, the chief object of which
 was to be the correcting the works of the ancient
 authors, with a view to their publication in as cor-
 rect a manner as possible. Of this academy Mar-
 cus Musurus, Pietro Bembo, Angelo Gabrielli,
 Andrea Navagero, Daniello Rimieri, Marino Sa-
 nuto, Benedetto Ramberti, Battista Egnazio, and
 Giambattista Ramusio, were the principal orna-
 ments, and will be entitled to our future notice.
 For the more effectual establishment of this insti-
 tution, it was his earnest wish to have obtained
 an imperial diploma; but in this respect he was
 disappointed

Aldus to the *Thesaurus Cornucopiæ* of Varino Camerti,
 printed in 1496, it appears that he had been occupied in
 this undertaking from the year 1489, "Postquam suscepi
 hanc duram provinciam (annus enim agitur jam septi-
 mus) possem jurejurando affirmare, tot annos ne horam
 quidem solidæ habuisse quietis."

disappointed; and the Venetian academy, which ought to have been an object of national or universal munificence, was left to depend upon the industry and bounty of a private individual, under whose auspices it subsisted during many years in great credit, and effected, in a very considerable degree, the beneficial purposes which its founder had in view.

CHAP.
II.
1492.
Æt. 17.

Such were the motives, and such the preparations for this great undertaking; but its execution surpassed all the expectations that its most sanguine promoters could have formed of it. The first work produced from the Aldine press, was the poem of Hero and Leander, of Musæus, in the year 1494;* from which time, for the space of upwards of twenty years, during which Aldo continued his labours, there is scarcely an ancient author, Greek or Latin, of whom he did not give a copious edition, besides publishing a considerable number of books in the Italian tongue. In the acquisition of the most authentick copies of the ancient authors, whether manuscript or printed, he spared neither labour nor expense; and such was the opinion entertained of his talents and assiduity

Progress and
success of his
undertaking.

* This work is not marked by the date of the year in which it was printed, and Manni seems to doubt its claim to priority; but Maittaire had before sufficiently shown that this opinion was well founded. *Annal. typ.* i. 70.

CHAP. duty by the celebrated Erasmus, who occasionally
 II. assisted him in revising the ancient writers, that he
 1492. has endeavoured to do justice to his merits, by
 Et. 17. asserting in his *Adagia*, "that if some tutelary
 "deity had promoted the views of Aldo, the
 "learned world would shortly have been in pos-
 "session, not only of all the Greek and Latin
 "authors, but even of the Hebrew and Chaldaick;
 "insomuch, that nothing could have been wanting
 "in this respect, to their wishes. That it was an
 "enterprise of royal munificence to reestablish
 "polite letters, then almost extinct; to discover
 "what was hidden; to supply what was wanting;
 "and to correct what was defective." By the
 same eminent scholar we are also assured, that
 whilst Aldo promoted the interests of the learned,
 the learned gave him in return their best assist-
 ance, and that even the Hungarians and the Poles
 sent their works to his press, and accompanied
 them by liberal presents. How these great objects
 could be accomplished by the efforts of an indivi-
 dual, will appear extraordinary; especially when
 it is considered, that Aldo was a professed teacher
 of the Greek language in Venice; that he diligently
 attended the meetings of the academy; that he
 maintained a frequent correspondence with the
 learned in all countries; that the prefaces and
 dedications of the books which he published were
 often of his own composition; that the works them-
 selves were occasionally illustrated by his criticisms
 and observations; and that he sometimes printed
 his

his own works: an instance of which appears in C H A P.
 his Latin grammar, published in the year 1507. II.
 The solution of this difficulty may, however, in 1492.
 some degree be obtained, by perusing the inscription placed by Aldo over the door of his study, Æt. 17.
 in which he requests his visitors to despatch their business with him, as expeditiously as possible, and be gone; unless they come, as Hercules came to Atlas, with a view of rendering assistance; in which case there would be sufficient employment, both for them, and as many others as might repair thither.

QUIQUIS ES ROGAT TE ALDUS ETIAM ATQUE ETIAM,
 UT SIQVOD EST QVOD A SE VELIS, PERPAUCIS AGAS,
 DEINDE ACTVTVM ABEAS; NISI, TAMQVAM HERCVLES,
 DEFESSO ATLANTE, VENERIS SVPPSITVRVS HVMEROS:
 SEMPER ENIM ERIT QVOD ET TV AGAS,
 ET QVOTQVOT
 HVC ATTVLERINT PEDES.



CHAP. III.

1492—1494.

THE cardinal de' Medici returns to Florence—Death of Innocent VIII.—Election of Alexander VI.—Ambitious views of Lodovico Sforza—Invites Charles VIII. into Italy—League between the pope, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians—Observations on the respective claims of the houses of Anjou and Aragon—Charles accommodates his differences with other states—Negotiates with the Florentines—Alexander VI. remonstrates with him on his attempt—The king of Naples endeavours to prevail on him to relinquish his expedition—Prepares for his defence—Alfonso II. succeeds to the crown of Naples—Prepares for war—Views and conduct of the smaller states of Italy—Charles VIII. engages Italian stipendiaries—unsuccessful attempt of the Neapolitans against Genoa—Ferdinand duke of Calabria, opposes the French in Romagna—Charles crosses the Alps—His interview with Gian-Galeazzo, duke of Milan—Hesitates respecting the prosecution of his enterprise—Piero de' Medici surrenders to Charles VIII. the fortress of Tuscany—The cardinal de' Medici with his brothers Piero and Giuliano expelled the city—Pisa asserts its liberties—Retreat of the duke of Calabria before d'Aubigny—Charles VIII. enters Florence—Intends to restore Piero de' Medici—Commutations in Florence and treaty with Charles VIII.—Charles enters the territories of the church—The states of Italy exhorted by a contemporary writer to oppose the progress of the French.

SCARCELY had the cardinal de' Medici gone through the ceremonies of his admission into the consistory, than he received intelligence of the death of his father, which happened on the eighth day

CHAP.
III.
1492.
Æt. 17.

C H A P. day of April, 1492. His sensations on this occasion are strongly expressed in his letters to his brother Piero;^a but not satisfied with epistolary condolence and advice, he prepared to pay a visit to Florence, for the purpose of supporting, by his presence, the credit and authority of the Medici in that city. In order to give him additional importance on this occasion, the pope appointed him legate of the patrimony of St. Peter, and of the Tuscan state.^b Before his arrival, the magistrates and council had, however, passed a decree, by which they had continued to Piero all the honours which his late father had enjoyed. The general disposition of the inhabitants was indeed so highly favourable to the Medici, that the authority of Piero seemed to be established on as sure a foundation as that of any of his ancestors, with the additional stability which length of time always gives to publick opinion.

III.

1492.

Æt. 17.

The Cardinal
de' Medici
returns to
Florence.

During the residence of the cardinal at Florence, he distinguished himself amongst his fellow citizens, not only by the decorum and gravity of his conduct as an ecclesiastick, but by his munificence to those numerous and eminent scholars, whom the death of his father had deprived of their chief protector.

To

^a v. *Life of Lor. de' Med.* ii. 247. *Appendix, No. lxxx.*

^b *Fabronii, vita Leon x. p. 13. adnot. 10.*

To his favour Marsilius Ficinus was indebted for the respectable rank of a canon of Florence; and his liberality was yet more particularly shown to Demetrius Chalcondyles, from whom he had formerly received instruction, and to whom he afforded pecuniary assistance, not only for his own purposes, but for the promotion of his numerous offspring. In these, and similar instances, his conduct corresponded with the sentiments professed by him, in the assertion which he made, that the greatest alleviation, which he could experience of his recent loss, would be to have it in his power, to promote the interest of those men of learning, who had been the peculiar objects, of the affection and regard of his father.^c In the mean time the health of the pope was rapidly declining, and the cardinal received information, which induced him to hasten with all possible expedition towards Rome. On this occasion the magistrates of Florence directed their general, Paolo Orsino, to accompany him to that city, with a body of horse; but before his arrival there, he received intelligence of the death of the pontiff, which happened on the twenty fifth day of July, 1492.

CHAP.

III.

1492.

Æt. 17.

Death of Innocent VIII.

If the character of Innocent were to be impartially weighed, the balance would incline, but with no very rapid motion, to the favourable side. His native

^c *Fabronii, Vita Leon. x. p. 14.*

CHAP. native disposition seems to have been mild and
 111. placable; but the disputed claims of the Roman
 1493. see, which he conceived it to be his duty to en-
 17. force, led him into embarrassments, from which
 he was with difficulty extricated, and which, with-
 out increasing his reputation, destroyed his repose.
 He had some pretensions to munificence, and may
 be ranked with those pontiffs to whom Rome is
 indebted for her more modern ornaments. One
 of the faults with which he stands charged is his
 unjust distribution of the treasures of the church
 among the children who had been born to him
 during his secular life;^d but even in this respect his
 bounty was restrained within moderate limits. In-
 stead of raising his eldest son, Francesco Cibò, to
 an invidious equality with the hereditary princes
 of Italy, he conferred on him the more substantial,
 and less dangerous benefits of great private wealth;
 and although to these he had added the small
 domains of Anguillara and Cervetri, yet Francesco,
 soon after the death of his father, divested himself
 of

^d These children were illegitimate, as appears from the evidence of Burchard, who denominates Francesco Cibò—"Filius Papæ, etiam bastardus, prout Domina "Theodorina." *Burchard. Diar. ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi* i. 93. Nor was incontinency the only crime of this pontiff, if we may judge from the epigram of Marullus.

"Spurcities, gula, avaritia, atque ignavia deses,
 "Hoc, Octave, jacent quo tegeris, tumulo."

of these possessions, for an equivalent in money, and took up his abode at Florence, among the kinsmen of his wife, Maddalena de' Medici,

C H A P.
111.

1492.

Pl. 17.

On the death of the pope, his body was carried to the church of St. Peter, attended by the cardinal de' Medici, and four others of equal rank. His obsequies were performed on the fifth day of August, and on the following day the cardinals entered the conclave, amidst the tumults of the people, who, as usual on such occasions, abandoned themselves to every species of outrage and licentiousness.* The chief contest appeared to subsist between Ascanio Sforza, whose superiour rank and powerful family connexions gave him great credit, and Roderigo Borgia, who counterbalanced the influence of his opponent, by his long experience, deep dissimulation, and the riches amassed from the many lucrative offices which he had enjoyed. With such art did he employ these advantages, that Ascanio himself, seduced by the blandishments and promises of Roderigo, not only relinquished his own pretensions, but became the most ardent advocate for the success of his late opponent. So openly

* Per Roma scorrevano a schiera i ladroni, gli omicidarii, i banditi, ed ogni pessima sorte d'uomini: ed i palazzi de' cardinali havevano le guardie di schioppettieri, e delle bombarde, perchè non fossero saccheggiate.

Canclavi de' Pontef. Rom. v. i. p. 133.

CHAP. III. openly was this scandalous traffick carried on, that **III.** Roderigo sent four mules, laden with silver to Ascanio, and presented to another cardinal a sum of **1492.** five thousand gold crowns, as an earnest of what he was afterwards to receive.^f On this occasion, the cardinal de Medici had attached himself to the cardinals Francesco Piccolomini (afterwards Pius III.)^g and Oliviero Caraffa, men of great integrity and respectability, but who were induced to relax in their opposition to the election of Roderigo, by the exertions of Ascanio Sforza.^h Of twenty cardinals who entered the conclave, we are informed there were only five who did not sell their votes.ⁱ

Election of
Alexander
VI.

III. On the eleventh day of August, 1492, Roderigo, having assumed the name of Alexander VI. made his entrance, as supreme Pontiff, into the church of St. Peter. The ceremonies and processions on this occasion exceeded in pomp and expense all that modern Rome had before witnessed; and whilst the new pontiff passed through the triumphal arches erected to his honour, he might have read the inscriptions which augured the return of the golden age, and hailed him as a conqueror and

^f *Burthard Diar. ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi. i. 101.*

^g *Jovius, in vitâ Leon. x. p. 15.*

^h *Burch. Diar. ap. Nqs. des MSS. du Roi. i. 101.*

and a God.ⁱ These pageants being terminated, Alexander underwent the final test of his qualifications, which, in his particular instance, might well have been dispensed with,^k and being then admitted

C H A P.

III.

1492.

Æt. 17.

ⁱ Of these, the following may serve as a sufficient specimen.

"Cæsare magna fuit, nunc Roma est maxima, Sextus

"Regnat Alexander; ille vir, iste deus."

"Alexandro invictissimo, Alexandro pientissimo, Alexandro magnificentissimo, Alexandro in omnibus maximo, honor et gratia."

"Scit venisse suum, patria grata, Jovem."

Other instances of preposterous adulation may be found in Corio, *Storia di Milano*, par vii. p. 888, &c. If, however, all the enormities recorded of him be true, one of the Roman poets of antiquity would have furnished him with a much more appropriate motto —

"Attulerat secum liquidi quoque monstra veneni,

"Oris Cerberei spumas, et virus Echidne,

"Erroresque vagos, cæcæque oblivie mentis,

"Et scelus, et lachrymas, rabiemque, et cædis amorem,

"Omnia trita simul."—

Ovid. Met. lib. iv. v. 499.

^k "Finalmente, essendo fornite le solite solennità in *Sancta Sanctorum*, e domesticamente toccatogli i testicoli, e data la benedizione, ritornò al palagio." Corio, *Storia di Milano*, par. vii. p. 890. Respecting the origin of this custom v. *Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini*, p. 149. Note (b.)

CHAP. ted into the plenitude of power, he bestowed his
 - III. pontifical benediction on the people. "He en-
 1492. tered on his office," says a contemporary histo-
 Et. 17. rian, "with the meekness of an ox, but he ad-
 ministered it with the fierceness of a lion."¹

The intelligence of this event being dispersed through Italy, where the character of Roderigo Borgia was well known, a general dissatisfaction took place, and Ferdinand of Naples, who in his reputation for sagacity stood the highest among the sovereigns of Europe, is said to have declared to his queen with tears, from which feminine expression of his feelings he was wont to abstain even on the death of his children, that the election of this pontiff would be destructive to the repose, not only of Italy, but of the whole republick of Christendom: "a prognostick," says Guicciardini, "not unworthy of the prudence of Ferdinand; for in Alexander VI. were united a singular degree of prudence and sagacity, a sound understanding, a wonderful power of persuasion, and an incredible perseverance, vigilance, and dexterity in whatever he undertook. But these good qualities were more than counterbalanced by his vices. In his manners he was most shameless; wholly divested of sincerity, of decency, and

¹ Entrò nel Pontificato Alessandro vi. mansueto come bue, e l'ha amministrato come leone." *Corio, ut sup. p. 896.*

"and of truth; without fidelity, without religion; CHAP.
 "in his avarice immoderate; in his ambition in- III.
 "satiabie; in his cruelty more than barbarous; 1492.
 "with a most ardent desire of exalting his numer- EX. 17;
 "ous children, by whatever means it might be
 "accomplished; some of whom (that depraved
 "instruments might not be wanting for depraved
 "purposes) were not less detestable than their
 "father."^m Such, in the opinion of this eminent
 historian, was the man, whom the sacred college
 had chosen to be the supreme head of the christian
 church.

The elevation of Alexander VI. was the signal
 of flight to such of the cardinals as had opposed his
 election. Giuliano della Rovere, who to a martial
 spirit united a personal hatred of Alexander, inso-
 much, that in one of their quarrels, the dispute
 had terminated with blows, thought it prudent to
 consult his safety by retiring to Ostia, of which
 place he was bishop. Here he fortified himself as
 for a siege, alleging, that he could not trust *the*
traitor, by which appellation he had been accus-
 tomed to distinguish his ancient adversary.ⁿ The
 cardinal, Giovanni Colonna, sought a refuge in
 the island of Sicily; and the cardinal de' Medici,
 equally

^m Guicciardin. *Storia d' Ital.* lib. 1.

ⁿ Muratori *Annali d' Italia*, v. ix. p. 566.

C. H. A. P. equally inimical, but less obnoxious to Alexander, retired to Florence; where he remained till the approaching calamities of his family compelled him to seek a shelter elsewhere.*

Ambitious
views of
Lodovico
Sforza.

No sooner was the new pontiff firmly seated in the chair of St. Peter, than those jealousies, intrigues, and disputes, among the potentates of Italy, which had for some time past almost ceased to agitate that country, began again to revive, and prepared the way, not only to a long series of bloodshed and misery, but to events which overturned in a great degree the political fabric of Italy, and materially affected the rest of Europe. During the minority of his nephew, Gian-Galeazzo, Lodovico Sforza had possessed the entire direction of the government of Milan, as guardian and representative of the young prince.^p Gratified by the exercise of the supreme authority, he looked forwards with vexation and with dread, to the time when he was to relinquish his trust into the hands of his
rightful

* *Ammirato, Ritratti d'uomini illustri di Casa Medici. Opusc. vol. iii. p. 64.*

^p From the ancient chronicle of Donato Bossi, printed at Milan, 1492, it appears, that the Milanese government at this time included the cities and districts of Milan, Cremona, Parma, Pavia, Como, Lodi, Piacenza, Novara, Alessandria, Tortona, Bobbio, Savona, Albingano, Vin-timiglia, and the whole territory of the Genoese.

rightful sovereign; and having at length silenced the voice of conscience, and extinguished the sense of duty, he began to adopt such measures as he thought most likely to deprive his nephew of his dominions, and vest the sovereignty in himself. For this purpose he intrusted the command of the fortresses and strong holds of the country to such persons only, as he knew were devoted to his interests. The revenue of the state, which was then very considerable,^a became in his hands the means of corrupting the soldiery and their leaders. All honours, offices, and favours depended upon his will; and so completely had he at length concentrated in himself the power and resources of the state, that, if we may give credit to a historian of those times, the young duke and his consort Isabella, the daughter of Alfonso, duke of Calabria, were nearly deprived of the common necessities of life.^r With all these precautions the authority of Lodovico was yet insecure, and the final success of his purpose doubtful. The hereditary right of Gian-Galeazzo to his dominions, was unimpeachable, and he was now of age to take upon himself the

C H A P.

III.

1492.

Æt. 17.

^a Corio states the ducal revenue at this period, at 600,000 ducats. *Storia di Milano. lib. vii. p. 883.*

^r “Ed in tal forma fu ristretta la corte Ducale, che a fatica Giovanni Galeazzo, ed Isabella sua moglie, potevano avere il vitto loro.”

Corio, Storia di Milano, lib. vii. p. 883.

O. H. A. P., the supreme authority. * His wife Isabella of Ara-
 gon, was a woman of a firm and independent spirit,
 and by her he had already several children. * Under
 these circumstances it was scarcely to be supposed,
 that Lodovico could divest his nephew of the go-
 vernment without incurring the resentment of the
 princes of the house of Aragon, who might probably
 also excite the other states of Italy to avenge the
 cause of an injured sovereign. That these appre-
 hensions

* It appears, however, from Summonte, that Lodovico
 had pretended a legal right to the sovereignty, on the plea,
 that Galeazzo, the father of the young duke, was born be-
 fore the time that his father Francesco had obtained the
 dominion of Milan; whereas Lodovico was the eldest son
 born after that acquisition, and consequently, as he asserted,
 entitled to the succession. *Summonte, Storia di Napoli, v.*
iii. p. 497. It is however remarkable, that Donato Bossi,
 in his chronicle, printed in 1492, and dedicated to Gian-
 Galeazzo, expressly commends the fidelity and loyalty of
 Lodovico to his sovereign.—“Opus autem ipsum annalium,
 “circa quod jam ultra tria lustra versatus sum, tibi Joanni
 “Galeazio Sfortia, Vicecomiti, penes quem, hominum di-
 “vorumque consensus, justissimique principis patruī tui
 “Ludovici fides et probitas, Mediolanensis principatus,
 “reliquarumque excelsarum urbium, regimen esse voluit,
 “dedico et dono.”

* “La dicte fille,” says Commynes, speaking of Isabella,
 “estoit fort courageuse, et eust volontiers donné credit à
 “son mari, si elle eust pu; mais il n’estoit gueres sage, et
 “réveloit ce qu’elle lui disoit.” *Mém. de Com. des. vii. p.*
188. ed. Lyons 1559.

hensions were not without foundation, he had already received a decisive proof. The degraded state to which Isabella and her husband were reduced, had compelled her to represent by letter to her father Alfonso, their dangers and their sufferings, in consequence of which, a formal embassy had been despatched from the king of Naples to Lodovico, to prevail upon him to relinquish the supreme authority into the hands of his lawful prince. " This measure, instead of answering the intended purpose, served only to demonstrate to Lodovico the dangers which he had to apprehend, and the necessity of forming such alliances as might enable him to repel any hostile attempt.

C H A P.

III.

1492.

Æt. 17.

In turning his eye for this purpose towards the other states of Italy, there was no place which he regarded with more anxiety than the city of Florence; not only on account of the situation of its territory, which might open the way to a direct attack upon him, but from the suspicions which he already entertained, that Piero de' Medici had been induced to unite his interests with those of the family of Aragon, in preference to the house of Sforza; a suspicion not indeed without foundation, and which some circumstances that occurred at this period amply confirmed.

On

* Corio, *Storia di Milan*, lib. vii. p. 883. where the letter from Isabella to her father is given.

CHAP. On the elevation of Alexander VI. it had been
 III. determined to despatch an embassy from Florence
 1492. to congratulate the new pontiff. As a similar mark
 Et. 17. of respect to the pope was adopted by all the states
 of Italy; it was proposed by Lodovico Sforza; that
 in order to demonstrate the intimate union and
 friendship which then subsisted among them, the
 different ambassadors should all make their publick
 entry into Rome, and pay their adoration to the
 pope on the same day. This proposition was uni-
 versally agreed to; but Piero de' Medici, who had
 been nominated as one of the Florentine envoys;
 proud of his superiour rank, which he conceived
 would be degraded by his appearing amidst an as-
 sembly of delegates, and perhaps desirous of dis-
 playing in the eyes of the Roman people an extra-
 ordinary degree of splendor, for which he had
 made great preparations, felt a repugnance to com-
 ply with the general determination. Unwilling,
 however, to oppose the project openly, he applied
 to the king of Naples, requesting him, if possible,
 to prevent its execution; by alleging that it would
 rather tend to disturb than to confirm the repose of
 Italy; and to introduce disputes respecting pre-
 cedency which might eventually excite jealousy
 and resentment. The means by which this opposi-
 tion was effected, could not, however, be concealed
 from the vigilance of Lodovico, to whom it seemed
 to impute some degree of blame, in having origi-
 nally proposed the measure; while it served to con-
 vince him, that a secret intercourse subsisted be-
 tween

tween Ferdinand and Piero de' Medici, which might prove highly dangerous to his designs.

CHAP.
III.

1492.

Act. 17.

This event was shortly afterwards followed by another, more clearly evincing this connexion. It had long been the policy of the Neapolitan sovereigns, always fearful of the pretensions of the holy see, to maintain a powerful interest among the Roman nobility. On the death of Innocent VIII. his son, Francesco Cibò, preferring the life of a Florentine citizen, with competence and security, to that of a petty sovereign, without a sufficient force to defend his possessions, sold the states of Anguillara and Cervetri, to Virginio Orsino, a near relation of Piero de' Medici, and an avowed partisan of Ferdinand of Naples, at whose instance the negotiation was concluded, and who furnished Virginio with the money necessary to effect the purchase. As this measure was adopted without the concurrence of the pope, and evidently tended to diminish his authority, even in the papal state, he not only poured forth the bitterest invectives against all those who had been privy to the transaction, but pretended, that by such alienation, the possessions of Francesco had devolved to the holy see.* Nor was Lodovico Sforza less irritated than the pope, by this open avowal of confidence

* *Guicciardin. Storia d' Italia. lib. i.*

C H A P. confidence between Piero de' Medici and the king
III. of Naples, although he concealed the real motives
 1493. of his disapprobation, under the plausible pretext,
 A.D. 18. that such an alliance formed too preponderating
 a power for the safety of the rest of Italy.

Lodovico
 Sforza, deter-
 mines to in-
 vite Charles
 VIII. into
 Italy.

In endeavouring to secure himself from the perils which he saw, or imagined, in this alliance, Lodovico was induced by his restless genius, to adopt the desperate remedy of inviting Charles VIII. of France, to make a descent upon Italy, for the purpose of enforcing his claim, as representative of the house of Anjou, to the sovereignty of Naples; an attempt, which Lodovico conjectured, would, if crowned with success, for ever secure him from those apprehensions, of which he could not divest himself, whilst the family of Aragon continued to occupy the throne of their ancestors.

League be-
 tween the
 Pope, the
 duke of Mi-
 lan, and the
 Venetians.

With this view, Lodovico, in the early part of the year 1493, despatched the count di Belgioioso, as his confidential envoy to France; but as the interference of the French monarch was regarded by him only as a resource in case of necessity, he did not neglect any opportunity of attaching to his interests the different sovereigns of Italy. His endeavours were more particularly exerted to effect a closer union with the pope, who, besides the publick cause of offence which he had received from the king of Naples, was yet more strongly actuated

actuated by the feelings of wounded pride, and of personal resentment. From the time of his elevation to the pontificate, the aggrandizement of his family became the leading motive of his conduct; and very soon afterwards, he had ventured to propose a treaty of marriage between his youngest son, Geoffroi, and Sancia of Aragon, a natural daughter of Alfonso, duke of Calabria, with whom he expected his son would obtain a rich territory in the kingdom of Naples. Alfonso, who abhorred the pontiff, and whose pride was probably wounded by the proposal of such an alliance, found means to raise such obstacles against it, as wholly frustrated the views of the pope. The common causes of resentment which Lodovico Sforza and the pontiff entertained against the family of Aragon, were mutually communicated to each other, by means of the cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who had been promoted by Alexander to the important office of vice chancellor of the holy see; and on the twenty first day of April, 1493,* a league was concluded between the pope, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians, the latter of whom had been induced by the solicitations of Lodovico Sforza, to concur in this measure. By this treaty, which gave a new aspect to the affairs of Italy, the parties engaged for the joint defence of their dominions. The pope was also to have the assistance of his colleagues in obtaining

* *Guicciardin. lib. i. p. 11. Murat. vol. ix. p. 568.*

- C H A P.** obtaining possession of the territories and fortresses
III. occupied by Virginio Orsino. But although the
 1493. formalities were expedited in the name of Gian-
 Et. 18. Galeazzo, the rightful sovereign of Milan, yet an
 article was introduced for maintaining the authority
 of Lodovico as chief director of the state.

The Floren-
 tines and the
 king of Na-
 ples unite
 their inter-
 ests.

As these proceedings could be regarded by the family of Aragon, in no other light than as preliminaries to direct hostilities, they excited great apprehensions in the mind of Ferdinand, who was well aware how little cause he had to rely on the assistance of his nobility and powerful feudatories, in resisting any hostile attack. The direct consequences of this league were, however, such as to induce a closer union between the family of Aragon and the state of Florence; in consequence of which, Piero de' Medici, as the chief of that republick, no longer hesitated to avow his connexions with Ferdinand. In the first impulse of resentment, it was proposed between Piero, and Alfonso, duke of Calabria, that they should join with Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna, in a design formed by the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, the avowed adversary of Alexander, for attacking the city of Rome; an enterprise to which the sanction of the Orsini, with whom Piero de' Medici possessed great influence, would, in all probability, have given decisive success. In this daring attempt, Ferdinand, however, refused to concur; judging it expedient rather to sooth the resentment, and perhaps, in
 some

some degree, to gratify the wishes of his adversaries, than to involve himself in a contest, the result of which he could not contemplate without the most alarming apprehensions. On this account he not only determined to withdraw his opposition to the pope, respecting the possessions of Virginio Orsino, but found means to renew the treaty for an alliance between his own family and that of the pontiff. To these propositions Alexander listened with eagerness, and the marriage, between Geoffroi Borgia and Sancia of Aragon, was finally agreed upon; although, on account of the youth of the parties, a subsequent period was appointed for its consummation.*

C H A P.

III.

1493.

Æt. 18.

No sooner was the intelligence of this new alliance, and the defection of the pope, communicated to Lodovico Sforza, than his fears, for the continuance of his usurped authority, increased to the most alarming degree, and he determined to hasten, as much as possible, the negotiation, in which he was already engaged, for inducing Charles VIII. to attempt the conquest of Naples. This young monarch, the only son of Louis XI. had succeeded, on the death of his father in 1483, to the crown of France, when only twelve years of age. Although destined to the accomplishment

Charles resolves to undertake the conquest of Naples.

of

* This treaty was concluded on the 12th day of June, 1493. *Murat. An. ix. 569.*

CHAP. of great undertakings, he did not derive from
 III. nature the characteristic of a hero, either in the
 1493. endowments of his body, or in the qualities of his
 Et. 18. mind. His stature was low, his person ill proportioned, his countenance pallid, his head large, his limbs slender, and his feet of so uncommon a breadth, that it was asserted he had more than the usual number of toes. His constitution was so infirm, as to render him, in the general opinion, wholly unfit for hardships and military fatigues. His mind was as weak as his body; he had been educated in ignorance, debarred from the commerce of mankind, and on some occasions he manifested a degree of pusillanimity which almost exceeds belief.⁷ With all these defects, both natural and acquired, Charles was not destitute of ambition; but it was the ambition of an impotent mind, which, dazzled by the splendour of its object, sees neither the dangers that attend its acquisition,

⁷ Commynes gives us to understand, that Charles was not displeased at the death of his son, at three years of age, because he was, "bel enfant, audacieux en parole, & ne craignoit point les choses que les autres enfans sont accoutumés à craindre," and the king it seems was therefore afraid, that if the child lived, he might diminish his consequence, or endanger his authority; "car le roi ne fut jamais que petit homme de corps, et peu étendu; mais étoit si bon, qu'il n'est pas possible de voir meilleure creature."

Mem. de Com. lib. viii. p. 248.

acquisition, nor the consequences of its attainment. S H A P.
 On a character so constituted, the artful representations of Lodovico Sforza, were well calculated III.
 to produce their full effect; but as the prospect 1493.
 of success opened upon Charles, his views became Et. 18.
 more enlarged, till at length he began to consider
 the acquisition of Naples, as only an intermediate
 step to the overthrow of the Turks, and the resto-
 ration in his own person, of the high dignity of
 emperor of the east. This idea, which acted at
 the same time on the pride and on the superstition
 of the king, Lodovico encouraged to the utmost
 of his power. In order to give greater importance
 to his solicitations, he despatched to Paris a splen-
 did embassy of the chief nobility of Milan, at the
 head of which he placed his former envoy, the
 Count di Belgioioso. With great assiduity and
 personal address, this nobleman instigated the
 king to this important enterprise, assuring him of
 the prompt and effectual aid of Lodovico Sforza,
 and the avowal or neutrality of the other states of
 Italy; and representing to him the inefficient
 resources of Ferdinand of Naples, and the odium
 with which both he and his son Alonso were
 regarded by the principal barons of the realm; a
 truth which was confirmed to Charles by the
 princes of Salerno and Bisignano, who had sought,
 in the court of France, a refuge from the resent-
 ment of Ferdinand. These solicitations produced
 the effect which Lodovico intended, and Charles
 not only engaged in the attempt to recover the

CHAP. kingdom of Naples, but, to the surprise of all
JII. his courtiers, he determined to lead his army in
 1493. person.*

Æt. 18.

Claims of the
 houses of An-
 jou and Ara-
 gon to the
 crown of Na-
 ples.

The respective claims of the houses of Anjou and Aragon upon the crown of Naples, were, in the estimation of sound sense and enlightened policy, equally devoid of foundation. In all countries, the supreme authority has been supposed to be rightfully vested only in those who claim it by hereditary descent, or by the consenting voice of the people; but with respect to the kingdom of Naples, each of the contending parties founded its pretensions on a donation of the sovereignty to their respective ancestors. The origin of these contentions is to be traced to a remote assumption of the holy see, by which it was asserted, that the kingdom of Naples was held by its sovereigns as a fief of the church, and in certain cases, on which the pontiffs arrogated to themselves the right of deciding, reverted to its actual disposal. That dominion, which the sovereign had received as the gift of another, it was supposed that he could himself transfer by his voluntary act; the consent of the church being all that was necessary to render such transfer valid; and to this pernicious and absurd idea, we are to trace all the calamities which destroyed

* Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital. lib. i.* Murat. *Annali. ix. passim.* Corio, *Storia di Milan. par. vii. p. 890. &c.*

destroyed for several centuries the repose of Italy, and rendered it, on various occasions, the theatre of massacre, of rapine, and of blood.*

C H A P.

III.

1493.

Æt. 18.

To balance against each other pretensions which are equally unsubstantial on any principle of sound policy, or even of acknowledged and positive law, may seem superfluous. If long prescription can be presumed to justify that which commenced in violence and in fraud, the title of the house of Anjou may be allowed to have been confirmed by a possession of nearly two centuries, in which the reins of government had been held by several monarchs who had preserved the rights and secured the happiness of their subjects. On the expulsion of Renato, in 1442, by Alfonso of Aragon, the family of Anjou were divested of their dominions; and by several successive bequests, which would scarcely have had sufficient authenticity to transfer a private inheritance from one individual to another, in any country in Europe, the rights of the exiled sovereigns became vested in Louis XI. from whom they had descended to his son Charles

VIII.

* Should the reader wish for more particular information respecting the claims of the contending parties to the crown of Naples, he may peruse with great advantage the acute and learned observations of Mr. Gibbon on this subject, published in the second volume of his miscellaneous works, under the title of *Critical researches concerning the title of Charles VIII. to the crown of Naples.*

CHAP. VIII. The title of Ferdinand was, on the other
 III. band, open to formidable objections; the illegiti-
 1493. macy and usurpation of his ancestor Manfred, the
 Et. 18. deduction of his rights by the female line, the long
 acquiescence of his family, and the circumstances
 of his own birth, afforded plausible protests for the
 measures adopted against him; but it must be
 remembered, that the same power, which had con-
 ferred the kingdom on the family of Anjou, had,
 on another occasion, bestowed it on Alfonso, the
 father of Ferdinand; and the paramount authority
 of the Roman see, to which both parties alternately
 resorted, must, in the discussion of their respective
 claims, be considered as decisive. Alfonso on his
 death had given it to his son, who, whether capable
 or not of hereditary succession, might receive a
 donation, which had been transferred for ages with
 as little ceremony as a piece of domestick furniture;
 and if a nation is ever to enjoy repose, Ferdinand
 might, at this time, be presumed to be, both *de*
jure and *de facto*, king of Naples.

In the discussion of questions of this nature,
 there is, however, one circumstance which seems
 not to have been sufficiently attended to, either by
 the parties themselves, or those who have examined
 their claims, and which may explain the mutability
 of the Neapolitan government better than an appeal
 to hereditary rights, papal endowments, or feudal
 customs. The object of dominion is not the bare
 territory of a country, but the command of the
 men

men who possess that country. These, it ought to be recollected, are intelligent beings, capable of being rendered happy or miserable by the virtues or the vices of a sovereign, and acting, if not always under the influence of sober reason, with an impulse resulting from the nature of the situation in which they are placed. Whilst the prince, therefore, retains the affections of his people; whilst he calls forth their energies without rendering them ferocious, and secures their repose without debasing their character; the defects of his title to the sovereignty will disappear in the splendour of his virtues. But when he relinquishes the sceptre of the king, for the scourge of the tyrant; and the ties of attachment are loosened by reiterated instances of rapacity, cruelty, and oppression; the road to innovation is already prepared; the approach of an enemy is no longer considered as a misfortune, but as a deliverance; the dry discussion of abstract rights gives way to more imperious considerations; and the adoption of a new sovereign is not so much the result of versatility, of cowardice, or of treachery, as of that invincible necessity, by which the human race are impelled to relieve themselves from intolerable calamities.

O. H. A. P.

III.

1493.

A. 18.

The resolution adopted by Charles VIII. to attempt the conquest of Naples, was no sooner known in France, than it gave rise to great diversity of opinion among the barons and principal counsellors of the realm; many of whom, as well

as

C. H. A. P. as his nearest relations, endeavoured to divert him
 III. from his purpose, by representing to him the im-
 1493. policy of quitting his own dominions, the dangers
 Et 18. to which he must infallibly expose himself, and,
 above all, the depressed state of his finances, which
 were totally inadequate to the preparation of so
 great an armament. They reminded him of the
 prudent conduct of his father, who was always
 averse to the measure which he now proposed to
 take, and unwilling to involve himself in the intri-
 cate web of Italian politicks; of the long established
 authority of Ferdinand of Naples, confirmed by
 his late triumphs over his refractory nobles; and
 of the high military reputation of Alfonso duke of
 Calabria, whose expulsion of the Turks from
 Otranto, had ranked him amongst the greatest
 generals in Europe. The die was however cast;
 the measure of prosperity in Italy was full; and
 instead of listening to the remonstrances of his
 friends, Charles bent his mind on the most speedy
 means of carrying his purpose into execution.
 The grandeur of the object called forth energies
 which none of his courtiers supposed that he pos-
 sessed. The ardour of the king communicated
 itself to the populace, whose favour was still further
 secured, by representing the conquest of Naples,
 as only the preliminary step to that of the capital
 of the Turkish empire, and to the diffusion of the
 catholick faith throughout the eastern world. An
 ignorant people are never so courageous, or rather
 so ferocious, as when they conceive themselves to
 be

be contending in the cause of religion. Charles CHAP.
 had the artifice to avail himself of this propensity; III.
 and to represent his expedition as undertaken to 1493.
 fulfil a particular call from heaven, manifested by Et. 13.
 ancient prophecies, which had promised him, not
 only the empire of Constantinople; but also the
 kingdom of Jerusalem.^b From all parts of his
 dominions, his subjects of every rank, voluntarily
 presented themselves to share his honours, on to
 partake his dangers; and, including some bands
 of mercenaries, he found himself in a short time
 at the head of an army, the numbers of which
 have been very differently estimated; but at the
 time of his departure, it could not, in its different
 detachments, have consisted of less than fifty
 thousand men.

Before

^b This expedition was the subject of several publica-
 tions in France, some of which are cited by M. Foncemagne,
 in his *Eclaircissements historiques sur quelques circonstances*
du voyage de Charles VIII. en Italie. v. *Mém. de l'Académie*
des Inscriptions. tom. xvii. p. 539. In one of these entitled
La prophétie du roy Charles huitieme de ce nom, par maître
Guilloche de Bourdeaux, is the following passage:

“ Il fera de si grants batailles
 “ Qu’il subjuguera les Ytaillies.
 “ Ce fait, d’ilec il s’en ira
 “ Et passera dela la mer.
 “ —Entrera puis dedans la Grece,
 “ Ou, par sa vaillant prouesse,
 “ Sera nommé le roi des Grecs;
 “ En Jerusalem entrera,
 “ Et mont Olivet montera.” &c.

CHAP. Before Charles could, however, engage with
 any reasonable degree of safety in his intended
 expedition, some important difficulties yet remain-
 ed to be overcome. The countenance, or the
 acquiescence of the principal sovereigns of Europe
 was indispensably necessary; but although he was
 on terms of amity with the king of England (Henry
 VIII.) he was involved in quarrels with Ferdi-
 nand of Spain, and with Maximilian, king of the
 Romans. The former of these monarchs, having had
 occasion to borrow a sum of one hundred thousand
 ducats, had proposed to Louis XI. that on his
 advancing the money, he should be secured for
 its due return by the possession of the counties
 of Perpignan and Roussillon, which were accord-
 ingly surrendered to him; but when, some years
 afterwards, Ferdinand offered to repay the money,
 Louis, being unwilling to relinquish a district
 which adjoined his own dominions, refused to
 perform the stipulations of the agreement. This
 undisguised instance of perfidy, gave occasion to
 complaints and remonstrances on the part of Fer-
 dinand, to which neither Louis nor his successor
 had hitherto paid the least regard. But no sooner
 had Charles determined on his expedition into
 Italy, than he proposed to restore these provinces
 to Ferdinand, in such a manner as seemed most
 likely to secure his future favour. By an embassy
 despatched for this purpose, he represented to the
 Spanish monarch, that whilst the crown of France
 had been attacked on all sides by powerful enemies,
 and

Charles ac-
 commodates
 his differen-
 ces with
 Ferdinand of
 Spain.

and compelled to defend itself at the same time CHAP.
 against the late emperor Frederick, the king of III.
 England, and the dukes of Burgundy and Britany, 1493.
 both he and his father had retained these provinces, Æt. 18.
 notwithstanding the threats and remonstrances of
 the court of Spain; but that having now repulsed
 or conciliated all his enemies, and having nothing
 to apprehend from any hostile attack, he had re-
 solved to restore these contested territories, without
 any other compensation than the friendship and
 alliance of Ferdinand. The restitution according-
 ly took place, and was soon followed by a treaty
 between the two sovereigns, in which Ferdinand
 solemnly engaged, that he would not interfere in
 the concerns of Naples, notwithstanding the near
 degree of relationship which subsisted between
 him and the sovereign of that kingdom and his
 family, to whom he was connected by the ties of
 both consanguinity and affinity.^c Charles did not,
 however, consider this treaty, which he concluded
 with the ambassadours of Ferdinand at Lyons, as
 an effectual security for his neutrality; for he soon
 afterwards despatched his envoys to Madrid, who
 required and obtained the personal and solemn
 oath, not only of Ferdinand himself, but of his
 queen

^c The two sovereigns were brothers' children, and Ferdinand of Naples had married, for his second wife, Joanna, the sister of Ferdinand of Spain.

C. H. A. P. queen Isabella, and their son John, prince of Castile, then of mature age, to the same effect.

III.

1493;

Art. 18.

And with the
Emperour
elect, Maxi-
milian.

The disagreement between Charles and Maximilian, king of the Romans, was of a much more delicate nature. During the life of his father, Charles had been betrothed to Margaretta, the daughter of Maximilian, who was accordingly sent to France whilst an infant, to be educated among her future subjects; but when the time approached that the nuptial ceremony should have taken place, circumstances occurred which induced Charles to change his intentions, and to disregard his engagements. Francis, duke of Bretagne, who then held his rich and extensive domains as an independent prince, finding himself at open war with the French monarch, had been led, by the hopes of a powerful alliance, to engage his daughter Anna, in marriage to Maximilian. After the death of the duke, Charles persevered in his hostilities, and notwithstanding the interference of Henry VII. of England, who sent a body of troops to the relief of the young dutchess, the greater part of her territories was occupied by the French troops, and the dutchess herself, besieged in her capital of Rennes, was at length obliged to submit to the terms imposed by the conqueror. The youth and beauty of the dutchess, and the important advantages which Charles foresaw from the union of her dominions with his own, induced him, notwithstanding his engagements with Margaretta of Austria,

tria, to make her proposals of marriage, and her consent being with some difficulty obtained, the nuptials were accordingly carried into immediate effect. Nor can it be denied, that this union, politically considered, was highly judicious; as it secured to Charles the command of a country naturally formed to be governed with his own, and at the same time, prevented the powerful family of Austria from establishing itself in the vicinity of the French dominions.^d But with respect to Maximilian, the conduct of Charles included two indignities of the most unpardonable nature; the repudiating his innocent daughter, and the depriving him of his betrothed wife. Maximilian was not, however, prepared for hostile measures; and the animosity to which these events gave rise, soon became a matter of negotiation, in which Lodovico Sforza interposed his good offices. In the month of June, 1493, a treaty was concluded between the two sovereigns, by which it was agreed, that Margaretta should be restored to her father, with her intended dowry, and that Charles should be released from his contract.^e The disappointment of Maximilian, Lodovico alleviated by recommending to him his niece, Bianca Maria, whom Maximilian

^d *Memoire sur le mariage de Charles Dauphin, &c.* inserted in the collection of *Du Mont*, vol. iii. par. ii. p. 404. *Baech. Hist. Hen. VII.*

^e *Corio, Storia di Milan. par. vii. p. 898.*

CHAP. milian soon afterwards took to wife; whilst his
III. daughter Margaretta found a husband in John;
 1493. prince of Castile, the son of Ferdinand and Isabella;
 Et. 18. and presumptive heir to the Spanish monarchy;
 after whose death, in 1497, she married Filiberto,
 duke of Savoy.

Negotiates
 with the Flo-
 rentines for
 their assist-
 ance.

Nor did Charles VIII. in preparing for his Neapolitan expedition, implicitly rely upon the representations of Lodovico Sforza, with respect to the disposition of the other states of Italy. On the contrary, he despatched his emissaries, with directions to obtain, if not the assurance of their assistance, at least the knowledge of their intentions. The principal argument on which he relied, for conciliating their favour, was the avowal of his determination to attempt the recovery of Constantinople, and the duty imposed upon all Christendom to assist him in so magnanimous and pious an enterprise. In order to obtain greater credit to these assertions, he assumed the titles of king of Sicily and Jerusalem. His chief endeavours were, however, employed to prevail upon the Florentines and the pope, to withdraw themselves from their alliance with Ferdinand. The answer which he obtained from the former, was equivocal and unsatisfactory. Whilst they assured the king, in private, of their good wishes, they excused themselves from a publick avowal of them, lest they should incur the resentment of Ferdinand of Naples, who, by turning his arms against the Tuscan territory,

territory, might render it the seat of the war. Such were the sentiments of the Florentine government, as sanctioned by Piero de' Medici; but the intelligence of the intentions of the French monarch was received with inconceivable joy, by a considerable number of the most powerful inhabitants of Florence, who were hostile to the views of Piero, and conceived, that in the commotions likely to arise from such a contest, they should find an opportunity of divesting him of his authority. Among these, the most distinguished by their wealth and rank were, Lorenzo and Giovanni, the sons of Pieri-Francesco de' Medici, and grandsons of the elder Lorenzo, the brother of Cosmo, *Pater Patrie*. These young men, jealous of the superiour authority of Piero and his brothers, in the affairs of Florence, had endeavoured, by their liberality and affability, and above all, by avowing a decided attachment to the liberties of the people, to establish themselves in the favour of the publick, in which attempt they had not been wholly unsuccessful. From them and their friends, the envoys of Charles received a secret assurance, that if he would persevere in his intentions, they would not only promote his views to the utmost of their power, but would also undertake to supply him with a large sum of money, towards defraying the expenses of his expedition. The conduct of the two brothers was, however, regarded with a suspicious eye. They had already shown a decided partiality to the French king,

C H A P.
III.
1493.
Æt. 18.

king, by accepting honorary appointments in his household; and certain information having been obtained of a secret correspondence with Charles, their persons were seized upon by the orders of Piero de' Medici, who has been accused of having entertained private causes of resentment against them; and of wishing to avail himself of this opportunity of gratifying his enmity, by depriving them of their lives.^f Their misconduct was, however, apparent, and after a long discussion, and the interference of many powerful friends, they were ordered, by a lenient sentence, to remain at their villas in the vicinity of Florence; but they soon broke the conditions imposed on them, and fled to France, where, by their personal interference

^f Nardi gives us reason to believe, that there were very sufficient grounds for the proceedings against the two brothers, which he adverts to, as having fallen within his own knowledge, many years afterwards. "Ma havendo io saputo, dopo molti anni, per qualche altra via, che poi il detto Giovanni de' Medici era stato honorato del titolo del Maestro di hostello, cioè Maestro di casa, del Re di Francia, Carlo VIII. non però per alcuna altra instantè cagione, che per haver procacciato, forse in tempo troppo alieno, la gratia del Re di Francia, allora inimico della città, ho potuto facilmente credere, che da questo fosse proceduta la suspitione & diffidentia, e consequentemente l'odio che in questo fatto si dimostrò a questi duoi fratelli."

Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 10.

rence, they encouraged the king to persevere in his claims.

C H A P.
III.

1493.

In order to palliate these proceedings to the French king, and to conciliate, if possible, his indulgence and favour, Gentile, bishop of Arezzo, and Piero Soderini, afterwards Gonfaloniere for life, were despatched as ambassadours of the republic to France.² They found the king in the city of Thoulouse, where, being admitted to an interview, they entreated him not to press the citizens of Florence to take an immediate and decided part in the approaching contest, and represented to him the dangers which they must inevitably incur by such a measure. They artfully extolled the greatness of his name, the extent of his dominions, and the numbers and courage of his troops; but they also suggested to him, that he was separated from Italy by the formidable barrier of the Alps, and that whilst he was hastening to the protection of the Florentines, they might fall a sacrifice to the merited resentment of Ferdinand of Naples. At the same time they assured him, that as soon as he should have surmounted these obstacles, and made his appearance in Italy, he should find them disposed to render him every assistance in their power. The purport of this discourse, was too obvious to escape the animadversion of Charles, whose indig-

Æt. 18.
Dismisses
their ambas-
sadours in
displeasure.

² *Ammirato, Istorie Fiorentine. iii. 190.*

C. H. A. P. indignation it excited to such a degree, that he not only drove the ambassadours from his presence, but threatened instantly to seize upon the property of all the Florentines within his realm, and to expel them from his dominions; and although he was prevented, by his advisers, from carrying this purpose into execution, he ordered that the agents of Piero de' Medici, should instantly be sent from the city of Lyons, where the family had carried on the business of bankers for a long course of years; thereby clearly manifesting from what quarter he conceived the opposition to arise.^h

Alexander VI. remonstrates with him on his attempt.

For the purpose of ascertaining the views of Alexander VI. Charles had despatched a second embassy to Rome, at the head of which was his general and confidential friend D'Aubigny. The success of this mission was highly desirable to him; as its principal object was to obtain from Alexander, by promises on the one hand, or by threats on the other, the formal investiture of the kingdom of Naples. If, as it has been asserted by many historians, Alexander had before concurred in inciting the king to this undertaking, he did not scruple, on the present occasion, to change his sentiments, and his reply was not favourable to the hopes of Charles. He entreated him to remember, that the kingdom of Naples had

^h Guicciard. *Storia d'Ital. lib. i. 1. 32.*

had been three times conceded by the holy see to the family of Aragon, the investiture of Ferdinand having expressly included that of his son Alfonso; that these adjudications could not be rendered void, unless it appeared judicially that Charles had a superiour right, which could not be affected by these acts of investiture, in which there was an express reservation that they should not prejudice the rights of any person; that the dominion of Naples, being under the immediate protection of the holy see, the pontiff could not persuade himself that his most christian majesty would so openly oppose himself to the church, as to hazard, without its concurrence, a hostile attack on that kingdom; that it would be more consistent with his known moderation and dignity, to assert his pretensions in a civil form; in which case, Alexander, as the sole judge of the right, declared himself ready to enter upon the discussion of the claims of the respective parties. These remonstrances he afterwards more fully enforced in an apostolick brief, in which he exhorted the French monarch to unite his arms with those of the other sovereigns of Europe, against the common enemies of Christendom, and to submit his claims on the kingdom of Naples to the decision of a pacifick judicature.¹ Instead of altering the purpose, these admonitions

¹ Although Guicciardini, Rucellai, and other contemporary authors, expressly assert, that Charles VIII. was in-

C H A P. admonitions only excited the resentment of the
III. king, who in return, avowed his determination to
 1493. expel Alexander from the pontifical throne.^k

Æt. 18.

The

cited by Alexander VI. to attempt the conquest of Naples, in which they have been implicitly followed by subsequent writers, I have not ventured to adopt their representations in my narrative; I. because Commynes, who has related, at great length, the motives by which Charles VIII. was induced to this undertaking, adverts not, in the most distant manner, to any invitation from the pope on that subject; on the contrary, he attributes the determination of the king solely to the persuasions of Lodovico Sforza, and informs us, that he sent Perron de Basche, as his ambassador to Rome, apparently to try the disposition of the pontiff, whom he erroneously names Innocent. *v. Mémoires, liv. vii. chap. 2.* II. In the letter from Lodovico Sforza to Charles VIII. as given by Corio, *p. 891*, the pope is not even mentioned, although several other sovereigns are specified as being favourable to the intended enterprise. III. In the apostolick brief issued by Alexander, and inserted by the same author in his history, we discover no reason to infer that the pope had, at any previous time, entertained a different opinion from that which he there professes, and which is decidedly adverse to the interference of the king in the concerns of Italy. Guicciardini, actuated perhaps by his abhorrence of Alexander VI. has not discussed this subject with his usual accuracy; and the reader finds it difficult to discover, even in his copious narrative, the real predisposing causes of an enterprise, which gave rise to all the important events recorded in his history.

^k *Benedetti, Fatto d'arme del Tarro, tradotto da Domenichi, p. 5. Ed. Ven. 1545.*

The answers obtained by the envoys of the king, from the duke of Savoy, the republick of Venice, and other governments of Italy, expressed in general terms their great respect for the French monarch, and their reluctance to engage in so dangerous a contest; but the duke of Ferrara, although he had married a daughter of Ferdinand, king of Naples, actuated, as has been supposed, by the hope of availing himself of the aid of the French against his powerful enemies the Venetians, did not hesitate to encourage the French monarch, in the most open manner, to persevere in his claims.¹

CHAP.
III.
1493.
Æt. 18.
He is encour-
aged by the
duke of Fer-
rara.

The

¹ Respecting the conduct of the duke of Ferrara, on this occasion, some discordance of opinion appears among the historians of Italy. Muratori asserts, that he exerted his efforts to dissuade Lodovico Sforza from his imprudent design of inviting the French into Italy. "Fu adoperato Ercole duca di Ferrara, per rimuovere Lodovico dalla pazza sua risoluzione di tirar l'armi Franzesi in Italia, nè egli omise ufficio alcuno per ottener l'intento," &c. *Annali* ix. 569. But Guicciardini, on the contrary, informs us, that Ercole abetted the enterprise, and assigns his motives for it at length. In deciding between these eminent historians, of whom the one was a contemporary, and the other has in general drawn his information from the documents of the times, it becomes necessary to resort to further evidence. Benedetti, in his *Fatto d'arme del Tarro*, expressly asserts, that Charles was invited into Italy by Lodovico Sforza; Ercole duke of Ferrara, the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, and Lorenzo (the son of Pier-Francesco) de' Medici; assigning as a reason for it (which strongly confirms

C'H A P. The negotiations and precautions resorted to
III. by Charles, preparatory to his Italian expedition,
1493. were such as a wise adviser would have suggested,
Et. 18. and a prudent commander would not fail to adopt.
Indecision of Charles VIII. He was also assiduous in collecting those necessary supplies of warlike stores, ammunition, and artillery of various kinds, the use of which had then been lately introduced, and on which he chiefly relied for the success of his undertaking. Yet, if we may believe a writer, who himself acted no unimportant part in the transactions of the times, the conduct of the French monarch was a series of obstinacy, folly, and indecision.^m "The king," says he, "had neither money nor talents for such an enterprise; the success of which can only be attributed to the grace of God, who showed his power most manifestly on this occasion." And again, "The king was very young, weak in body,

firm the idea that Alexander VI. was uniformly hostile to the measure) that the aversion in which the pope was held by some of the cardinals, induced them to wish for a change in the pontificate, *v. p. 5*. And from the history of Ferrara, by Sardi, it appears, that Ercole accompanied Lodovico Sforza to meet the king at Alexandria. "Passò Carlo in Italia," says he, "incontrato dal Moro, e dal duca Ercole, in Alessandria." *Sardi, Hist. Ferr. lib. x. p. 194*. From all which, it may be clearly inferred, that the duke of Ferrara took an active part in bringing the French into Italy.

^m *Memoires de Commynes, liv. vii. chap. 4. p. 192.*

“body, obstinate, surrounded by few persons of c H A P.
 “prudence or experience; money he had none, III.
 “insomuch, that before his departure, he was 1493.
 “obliged to borrow one hundred thousand franks Et. 18.
 “from a banker at Genoa, at an enormous interest,
 “as well as to resort to other places for assistance.
 “He had neither tent nor pavilion, and in this
 “state he began his march into Lombardy. One
 “thing only seemed favourable to him; he had
 “a gallant company, consisting chiefly of young
 “gentlemen, though with little discipline. This
 “expedition must therefore have been the work
 “of God, both in going and returning; for the
 “understanding of its conductors could render
 “it very little service; although it must be ac-
 “knowledged that it has terminated in the acqui-
 “sition of no small share of honour and glory to
 “their master.”^a Even at the moment of de-
 parture, although the king was unceasingly pressed
 by the envoys of Lodovico Sforza, he displayed
 a strong disinclination to commence his journey :
 and as he fluctuated according to the advice of his
 counsellors,

^a It appears from Giustiniani, *Annali di Genoa*, p. 249,
 that the Genoese banker was Antonio Sauli, who first ad-
 vanced to the king 70,000 ducats, and afterwards 25,000
 more, at Rome. If we may judge of the supposed risk of
 loss, by the rate of interest, it was regarded as a hazardous
 adventure; such interest being no less than cent per cent,
 —“à gros interest pour cent de foire en foire.” *Commém.*
Liv. vii. proem., p. 184.

C. H. A. P. counsellors, he changed his purpose from day to day. At length he determined to set forwards on

III.

1493.

Et. 18.

his expedition; "but even then," says Commynes, "when I had begun my journey I was sent back, and told that the attempt was relinquished."

How then shall we reconcile the external demonstrations of perseverance, prudence, and magnanimity, to which we have before adverted, with these internal marks of imbecility, and weakness of mind? In truth, the history of mankind is susceptible of being represented under very different aspects; and whilst one narrator informs us of the ostensible conduct of sovereigns and their agents, on the publick stage of life, another intrudes himself behind the curtain, and discovers to us by what paltry contrivances the wires are played, and by what contemptible causes those effects, which we so highly admire, are in fact produced.

The king of Naples endeavours to prevail on him to relinquish his expedition.

Whilst preparations were thus making by Charles for his intended expedition, the sagacious mind of Ferdinand of Naples had maturely compared the probable impulse of the attack, with the known practicability of resistance, and the result of

° "A la fin le roy se delibera de partir; & montay à cheval des premiers, esperant passer les monts en moindre compagnie. Toutefois je fus remandé, disant que tout estoit rompu." *Mem. de Com. liv. vii chap. 4. p. 193.*

of his deliberations was such as to occasion to him CHAP.
 no small share of anxiety. He well knew, that 1493.
 the arms of the French king were not only super- 1493.
 rior to any force which he, with his utmost exer- 1493.
 tions, could oppose to them, but in all probability,
 to that of all the Italian states united. On his
 allies he could place no firm reliance; and if he
 did not suspect their duplicity, or dread their in-
 constancy, he could only expect them to act as
 circumstances might prescribe; or in other words,
 to attach themselves to the conquering party. From
 his relative, the king of Spain, he could hope for
 no assistance; for he had solemnly disavowed and
 abjured his cause; and if he resorted to the aid of
 his own subjects, he only saw, on every hand, the
 indications of tumult and rebellion, the natural
 consequences of a severity, which had alienated
 the affections of his barons, and reduced his peo-
 ple to servitude. Under these circumstances, he
 resolved to try whether it might not yet be possible,
 by prudent negotiation and timely submission, to
 avert the dangers with which he was threatened;
 and in this respect he proposed to avail himself of
 the interference of Carlotta, the daughter of his
 second son Federigo, who was related to Charles
 by consanguinity, and had been educated in his
 court.^p He also despatched, as his ambassadour,
 Camillo

^p Federigo of Aragon married Anna, daughter of Ama-
 deus, duke of Savoy, who was brother of Carlotta, queen
 of Louis XI.

C H A P. Camillo Pandone, who had formerly been his representative in France, with offers to Charles, of a considerable annual tribute, if he would relinquish his enterprise; but the humiliation of Ferdinand, rather excited the hopes, than averted the purpose, of his adversary, and his ambassador was remanded without a publick hearing. In his applications to Lodovico Sforza, although he met with an exterior civility, he was in fact, equally unsuccessful; nor could he, indeed, reasonably hope for any satisfactory engagement with that ever variable politician, who, in weaving the web for the destruction of others, was at length entangled in it himself.

**Prepares for
his defence.**

Nor was Ferdinand, whilst he was thus endeavouring to avert, by negotiation, the dangers with which he was threatened, remiss in collecting together such a force as his own states afforded for his defence. A fleet of about forty galleys was speedily prepared for action, and by great exertions and expense, a body of troops was collected, which, including the various descriptions of soldiery, amounted to about seven thousand men. But whilst Ferdinand was thus endeavouring to secure himself from the approaching storm, he found a more effectual shelter from its violence in a sudden death, hastened, perhaps, by the joint effects of vexation and fatigue, on the twenty-fifth day of

**Death of
Ferdinand.**

January,

January, 1494, when he had nearly attained the seventy-first year of his age.¹

C H A P.
III.

1494.

Æt. 19.

Alfonso II.
succeeds to
the crown of
Naples.

The stipulations entered into between Ferdinand and Alexander VI. had, however, for the present, effectually secured the favour of the pontiff, which, on this occasion, was of the greatest importance to Alfonso, the son and successor of Ferdinand; who found no difficulty in obtaining the bull of investiture. He was accordingly crowned, with great pomp, at Naples, on the seventh day of May, 1494, by Giovanni Borgia, nephew of the pope, and cardinal of Monreale, who was sent from Rome to perform that ceremony. Immediately

¹ Burcardo, who made a journey to Naples, soon after the death of the king, relates, that Ferdinand, having found himself indisposed at his villa of Trapergola, returned to Naples, where, in dismounting from his horse, he fell senseless, and died on the following day, without either confession or sacraments. His confessor cried out to him, in vain, to repent of his sins and his opposition to the church, for he gave not the slightest symptom of contrition. *Burcard. Diar. ap. Not. des MSS. du Roi*, 1. 108. Bernardino Rota has honoured his memory by the following lines :—

“ Fernandus fueram, felicit conditor ævi,

“ Qui pater heu patriæ, qui decus orbis eram;

“ Quem timuere duces, reges coluere, brevis nunc

“ Urna habet; humanis i modo fide bonis.”

Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. viii. 156.

CHAP. ly after his accession to the crown, Alfonso appointed the celebrated Pontano his chief secretary; nor, if we may judge from the commendations bestowed on him by the Neapolitan scholars, was this the only instance in which he showed his respect for literature.

Marriage of
Geoffroi Bor-
gia, with
Sancia of
Aragon.

Soon after the ceremonial of the coronation, the nuptials of Geoffroi Borgia, with Sancia of Aragon, were celebrated, the bride being at that time seventeen, and the husband only thirteen years of age. The magnificence of these formalities, was as ill suited to the alarming situation of the Aragonese family, as the expense was to their necessities. The pope and the king seemed to contend with each other which should be most lavish of his bounty; but Alexander dispensed only the favours and dignities of the church, whilst Alfonso sacrificed the revenues of his states, and diminished those pecuniary resources of which he stood so greatly in need. Lodovico, the son of Don Henry, natural brother of the king, was, on this occasion, received into the sacred college, and was afterwards known by the name of the cardinal of Aragon; and the pope released Alfonso, during his life, from the nominal tribute, so constantly, but ineffectually, claimed by the holy see from the sovereigns of Naples. On the other hand, the king invested Giovanni Borgia, eldest son of the pope, already created duke of Gandia, with the principality of Tricarica, and other rich domains in

in the kingdom of Naples, of the annual value of twelve thousand ducats; to which he also added the promise of the first of the seven great offices of state, that should become vacant. Nor was Cesar Borgia, the second son of Alexander, forgotten on this occasion; another grant of a considerable income from the king of Naples, being thought necessary to enable him to support the dignity of his rank, as one of the cardinals of the church. Two hundred thousand ducats were expended in the dowry and paraphernalia of the bride; and tournaments and feasts, continued for several days, seemed to afford both the people and their rulers a short respite from their approaching calamities.

The alliance and support of the pope being thus secured, Alfonso prepared for war; and as a proof that he meant, in the first instance, to resort to vigorous measures, he dismissed from his capital the Milanese ambassadour, at the same time sequestering the revenues of the duchy of Bari, which had been conferred by his father on Lodovico Sforza. By a secret intercourse with the cardinal Fregoso, and Obietto da Fiesco, who then enjoyed great authority in Genoa, he attempted to deprive the duke of Milan of his dominion over that state; and that nothing might be wanting on his part to secure himself against the impending attack, he despatched ambassadours to the sultan Bajazet, to represent to him, that the avowed object

Alfonso pre-
pares for
war.

CHAP.
III.

1494.

Æt. 19.

CHAP. object of the French king was, the overthrow of
 III. the Ottoman empire, and to request that he would
 1494. immediately send a strong reenforcement to his
 Et. 19. relief.* The lessons of experience, which form
 the wisdom of individuals, seem to be lost on
 the minds of rulers; otherwise Alfonso might
 have discovered, that his most effectual safeguard
 was in the affections of his people, who, if his
 conduct had entitled him to their favour, would
 have been found sufficiently powerful for his de-
 fence; whilst, on the contrary, the aversion of his
 own subjects, accumulated by repeated instances
 of a cruel and unrelenting disposition, both before
 and after his accession to the throne, was an inter-
 nal malady which no foreign aid could remove.

Views and
 conduct of
 the smaller
 states.

The opinions, debates, and negotiations, to
 which the intended expedition gave rise among
 the smaller states of Italy, each of whom had their
 ambassadours and partisans constantly employed,
 combined to form such an intricate tissue of poli-
 tical intrigue, as it would be equally useless and
 tiresome to unravel. It is not, however, difficult
 to perceive, that these petty sovereigns, instead of
 uniting in any great and general plan of defence,
 were each of them labouring to secure his private
 interests, or to avail himself of any circumstance
 in the approaching commotions, that might con-
 tribute

* Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital. lib.* i. 1. 34.

tribute to his own aggrandizement. In the conflagration that was speedily to involve the fabrick of Italy, the contest, therefore, was not, who should most assist in extinguishing the flames, but who should obtain the greatest share of the spoil.

C H A P.
III.
1494.
Æt. 19.

The determination of Charles VIII. to attempt the conquest of Naples, now became every day more apparent. D'Aubigny, one of the most experienced commanders in the service of the French monarch, had, after his interview with the pope, been directed to remain in Italy; where he had already the command of a small body of French troops, which had been assembled in the territories of Milan: and by the assistance of Lodovico Sforza, and his brother, the cardinal Ascanio, several of the Italian nobility and condottieri, regardless to whom they sold their services, undertook to furnish the king with a stipulated number of cavalry, or men at arms. Among these

Charles VIII.
engages Italian stipendiaries.

* Commynes, who calls him "un bon et sage chevalier," says, that he had "quelques deux cens hommes d'armes." *lib. vii. chap. 5.* but Corio, a writer of equal credit, says that he had "mille cavalli Francesi." *Storia di Milan. par. vii. p. 927.* This faithful soldier, and judicious counsellor, to whom the success of the expedition may be chiefly attributed, was of Scottish origin, and is denominated by Summonte, in his history of Naples. *vol. iii. p. 506. (Corr. 580.)* "Everardo Estuardo," (Everard or Edward Stuart) "Scozese, per sopra nome, detto Monsignore di Obegni."

C. H. A. P. these mercenaries, were some of the chief barons
 III. of the Roman state, and particularly those of the
 1494. families of Colonna, Orsini, and Savelli.^t This
 Et. 19. daring instance of insubordination in the Roman
 nobility, alarmed the pontiff, and afforded too plausible
 a pretext for those severities which he afterwards
 exercised against them.

In order to concert together the means for their common defence, it was proposed, between Alfonso and the pope, that they should meet at the town of Vico, about twenty miles from Rome, whither Alexander accordingly repaired, accompanied by many of the cardinals, the Venetian and Florentine legates, and about five hundred horse. He was there met by Alfonso, who, with unavailing humility, professed his willingness to rest his cause on the decision of the sacred college, and the ambassadours of the neutral courts.^u After this interview, Alexander returned in haste to Rome, with the resolution of suppressing the Roman nobility, who were now in arms, and openly avowed their attachment to the cause of the French; but he found them so posted, and their numbers so considerably increased, that he thought it advisable to relinquish the attempt for the

^t These auxiliaries are enumerated by Corio, *Storia di Milan. par. vii. p. 923.*

^u Corio, *Storia di Milan. parte vii. p. 925.*

the present, and to reserve his vengeance for a future day.

III.

1494.

Et. 15.

Alfonso now determined to take the command of his army in person, and appointed his brother Federigo, admiral of his fleet. With the former, it was his intention to advance into Romagna, and oppose himself to the threatened hostilities of D'Aubigny; whilst the latter was directed to proceed to Genoa, for the purpose of affording the citizens of that place an opportunity of freeing themselves from the dominion of the house of Sforza.

The cardinal Fregoso and his nephew, with Obietto da Fiesco, and other Genoese exiles, accompanied the armament of Federigo, which was provided with materials for burning, in case of resistance, the fleet, in the harbour of Genoa, and for destroying the preparations which the French had, for some time past been making there. About the end of the month of June, the Neapolitan flotilla sailed from Civita Vecchia, having on board four thousand soldiers, and being provided

Unsuccessful expedition of the Neapolitans against Genoa.

† The exertions of the monarch were celebrated by the eminent scholars who adorned his court; and Sanazzaro, at this juncture, produced one of his finest Italian poems, in which he has endeavoured to inspire his fellow soldiers with courage and resolution, in defence of their sovereign and their country.

CHAP. provided with a considerable quantity of artillery
III. and stores. Its arrival in the gulf of Spezia, was
1494. immediately announced to Louis, duke of Orleans,
Et. 19. who had preceded Charles in his expedition into
Italy, and had arrived at Asti, where he was
employed in concerting with Lodovico Sforza,
the measures to be adopted in commencing the
war. Selecting for his purpose, a body of two
thousand infantry and five hundred light armed
horse, he repaired to Genoa, where the partisans
of the French had prepared for service seven large
ships with heavy artillery, besides several smaller
vessels, on which they had embarked six hun-
dred men, under the command of the French
general D'Urfé.* Detachments from Genoa were
also sent to protect the coast; and, in an attempt
made by the Aragonese, to possess themselves
of Porto Venere, they were repulsed with some
loss, and retired to Leghorn, to repair their damage.
They soon, however, proceeded again towards the
coast of Genoa, and effected a landing at Rapallo,
where they began to intrench themselves; but
the duke of Orleans, having assumed the com-
mand of the Genoese fleet, which had been reen-
forced by four large ships, and having taken on
board about a thousand Swiss mercenaries, hasten-
ed towards that place; whilst a body of troops,
under

* Called by Corio, "Monsignore Orfeo" *Storia di
Milan. par. vii. p. 927.*

under the command of Anton-Maria da Sanseverino, and Giovanni Adorno, were directed to proceed along the coast, and cooperate with the duke.^x On the first attack, the Swiss troops were repulsed by the Neapolitans; but the detachment by land arriving to their assistance, the engagement was renewed; and the Neapolitans, conceiving themselves likely to be surrounded, took to flight, and abandoned their enterprise, with the loss of about two hundred men killed, besides a considerable number of prisoners. To this victory, the heavy artillery of one of the French ships, which was brought to bear upon the Neapolitan troops, greatly contributed.^y Such of the fugitives as fell into

CHAP.

III.

1494.

Et. 19.

x *Giustiniani, Annali di Genova. lib. v. p. 249. b.*

y It belonged to Commynes, who denominates it "une grosse galeace (qui estoit mienne) qui patronisoit un appelé Albert Mely, sur laquelle estoit le dict duc et les principaux. Et la dicte galeace avoit grande artillerie, et grosses pieces, (car elle estoit puissante) et s'approcha si pres de terre que l'artillerie deconfit presque l'ennemi, qui jamais n'en avoit veu de semblable, et estoit chose nouvelle en Italie." *liv. vii. chap. 5. p. 194.* The use of artillery was, however, known in Italy, about the year 1380, in the wars between the Genoese and the Venetians. *Summonte, Storia di Napoli. iii. 497. (Corr. 563.) Malavolti, Storia di Siena. p. 170. Guicciardini, lib. 1.* The latter author, however, acknowledges that the French had brought this diabolical implement—"questo più tosto diabolico che

"umano

CHAP. into the hands of the Genoese, after being plundered, were suffered to escape; but the Swiss showed no mercy to the vanquished; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of their allies, stormed and plundered the town of Rapallo, where, among other enormities, they slaughtered even the sick in the hospitals. The indignation which this cruelty excited at Genoa, had nearly effected that which the Neapolitan armament had failed to accomplish. On the return of the troops to that city, the populace rose and massacred several of the Swiss soldiery; and the duke of Orleans, instead of returning from his expedition in triumph, was under the necessity of taking precautions for his safety before he ventured to disembark.*

In

“umano instrumento”—to much greater perfection, and employed it with more celerity and effect, than had before been done. Cornazzano, in his poem *De re Militari*, narrates the discovery of fire arms at considerable length. The larger pieces were denominated *Bombardi*, the smaller *Scopetti*, and *Spingarde*.

“Nacque così madonna la bombarda,

“Di quel che venne le cose iterando;

“Et dui figli hebbe, schiopetto e spingarda.”

Relating the effects of the first of these implements (the bombarda, or cannon) he adds:—

“———dove va in persona,

“Ogni edificio gli fa riverenza.”

Cornaz. de re Milit. lib. iii. p. 58. &c.

* *Giustiniani, Annali di Genoa. lib. v. p. 250.*

In the mean time, it became necessary to check the progress of D'Aubigny, who, having now collected a considerable force, had entered Romagna, and was proceeding, without interruption, towards the territories of Naples. The command of the detachment intended for this purpose, was relinquished by Alfonso to his son Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, who, at the head of a body of troops, superiour in number to the French and their allies, took his station between the branches of the Po. He there presented himself for some hours in order of battle, and by his courage and promptitude, conciliated to his cause no small share of popular favour. For some time, the French and Neapolitan armies were encamped within a mile of each other; but D'Aubigny prudently declined a contest. As the enemy increased in force, Ferdinand in his turn, was compelled to retreat. The intelligence of the disaster at Rapallo, and the certainty of the approach of Charles VIII. had contributed to dispirit the Neapolitan troops; and at the moment when the duke of Calabria, ought, by the vigour and decision of his measures, to have confirmed the wavering minds of the Italian potentates, he gave the omen of his future ruin, by retiring under the walls of Faenza; where, instead of attempting offensive operations, he was satisfied with fortifying himself against an attack.^a

C H A P.

III.

1494

Æt. 19.

Ferdinand,
duke of Cala-
bria opposes
the French
in Romagna.

Qn

^a Guicciardini. lib. i. vol. i. p. 48.

CHAP. On the twenty second day of August, 1494,
 III. Charles took his departure from Vienne; and,
 1494. passing through Grenoble, crossed the Alps, and
 Et. 19. arrived at Turin; where he was received with great
 Charles VIII. honour by Bianca, widow of Charles, duke of Sa-
 crosses the v-
 Alps. voy. Of the splendid appearance of the dutchess
 and her court, a particular description is given by
 one of the attendants of the French monarch.^b
 Such was the profusion of jewels displayed on this
 occasion,

^b André de la Vigne, was secretary to Anne of Bre-
 tagne, queen of Charles VIII. and accompanied the king
 on this expedition, of which he has left a journal, in prose
 and verse, entitled, *Le Vergier d'honneur*, which has been
 attributed, in part, to Octavien de St. Gelais, bishop of
 Angoulême; but the French critics have determined, that
 the complaint on the death of Charles VIII. and his epi-
 taph, are the only parts of the work to which the bishop
 has any pretensions. Of this work there are two editions,
 both printed in Gothick characters at Paris, but without
 date, the one in folio, the other in quarto; the former of
 these, which has been consulted on this occasion, is enti-
 tled—

LE VERGIER D'HONNEUR, NOUVELLEMENT IMPRIME A
 PARIS, de l'interprinse et voyage de Naples. Auquel est
 comprins comment le roy, Charles huytiesme de ce nom, a
 baniere déployée, passa et repassa, de journee en journee, de-
 puis Lyon jusques a Naples, et de Naples jusques a Lyon.
 Ensemble plusieurs aultres choses, faictes et composees par
 reverend pere en dieu Monsieur Octavien de Saint Gelais,
 évesque d'Angoulesme, et par Maistre Andry de la Vigne,
 secretaire de la royne, et de Monsieur le duc de Savoye, avec
 aultres.

occasion, that Charles, whose resources were not very ample, conceived that a favourable opportunity was afforded him for improving them; of this he accordingly availed himself, by borrowing a great part of these superfluous ornaments, which he immediately pledged for a sum of twelve thousand ducats. During his residence at Turin, he was entertained by such exhibitions as were then esteemed the most extraordinary efforts of ingenuity.* On the sixth day of September, he quitted that city and proceeded to Chieri, where his progress was again retarded for some days, by the amusements and representations which had been prepared for him, in which the most beautiful women of Italy were selected to congratulate him on his approach, and to crown him *Champion of the*

CHAP.

III.

1494.

Æt. 19.

* These exhibitions are thus described by André de la Vigne :—

- " Labeur y vis bien dehait en pourpoint ;
- " Et pastoreaulx chanter de contrepoint
- " Petis rondeaulx faits dessus leurs hystoires ;
- " Inventions de la loi de nature.
- " Pareillement de cette descripture
- " Bien compassees furent illic a flac
- " Noe, Sem, Cham, y vis en portraiture,
- " Et de la loi de grace leur figure ;
- " Puis Abraham, Jacob, et Isaac,
- " Plusieurs histoires de Lancelot du lac,
- " Celle d'Athenes du gran Cocordillac." &c.

CHAP. *the honour of the fair.*^d On his arrival at Asti he was met by Lodovico Sforza, accompanied by his dutchess, Beatrice of Este, the splendour of whose dress and equipage astonished his followers. The attention of Lodovico had here provided him with a number of beautiful courtezans from Milan, who were honoured by the notice, and rewarded by the liberality of the French monarch.^e At this place his expedition, had however, nearly been brought to a premature termination; for he was seized with a disorder, which confined him for some days to his chamber, and is said to have endangered his life.^f

III.

1494.

Æt. 19.

Whilst

^d *Champion de l'honneur des dames.* Of the taste of the monarch, and of the delicacy of his female attendants, some idea may be formed from the account given of these representations; one of which was a pretended *accouchement*. This exhibition is described in the rude verses of André de la Vigne. It is only to be regretted, that from the nature of things, the curiosity of the monarch could not be gratified by his performing, in reality, the principal part on such an occasion himself.

^e “Lodovico Sforza, mandò al Rè molte formosissime matrone Milanese, con alcune delle quali pigliò amoroso piacere, e quelle presentò di preciosi anelli. D'indi per la mutation dell'aere Carlo s'infermò di varuole.” &c. Corio, *Storia Milanese. lib. vii. p. 935.*

^f Historians have represented this disorder as the small pox. Malavolti, in his history of Siena, says, that Charles was

Whilst the king remained at Asti, he received information of the success of the duke of Orleans at Genoa, and of the retreat of Ferdinand of Aragon before the arms of D'Aubigny. He did not, however, quit that place before the sixth day of October, when he proceeded to Casale, the capital city of the marquis of Montferrat. At this place he

CHAP.

III.

1494.

Et. 19.

was detained at Asti about a month; "ritenuto da quel male che da noi è domandato *Vajuolo*." *par. iii. p. 99.* Commynes also denominates the disorder of the king, "la petite verole," and adds, that his life was in danger. Benedetti, in his *Fatto d'arme sul Tarro, p. 7*, informs us, that from change of air, Charles was seized with a fever, "e mandò fuori alcuni segni che si chiamano *epinitide*; " (*night pimples*) i nostri le chiamano *Vajuole*." From the extreme licentiousness in which the king had indulged himself, it is not, however, improbable that his complaint was of a different nature, and that the loathsome disorder, which, within the space of a few months afterwards, began to spread itself over Italy, and was thence communicated to the rest of Europe, is of royal origin, and may be dated from this event. In favour of this supposition it may be observed that this disease was much more violent in its symptoms, on its first appearance, than in after times, and that its resemblance to the small pox probably gave rise to the appellation by which it has since been known.

"Protinus informes totum per corpus achores

"Rumpebant, faciemque horrendam, et pectora fæde

"Turpebant; species morbi nova; pustula summæ

"Glandis ad effigiem, et pituita rarscida pingui."

Præceptor. Syphil. lib. i. l. 349.

CHAR. he met with a reception similar to that which he
XXI. had experienced at Turin, and repaid it in a similar
1494. manner, by borrowing the jewels of the marchio-
Et. 19. ness, who was the mother of the dutchess of Savoy,
 upon which he raised at Genoa a further sum of
 money. He then hastened with his army to Pavia,
 where some jealousy arose between him and Lodo-
 vico Sforza; who consented, as a pledge of his
 fidelity, to place the fortress of the city in his hands.
 On this occasion, Charles had an interview with
 his near relation Gian-Galeazzo, the unfortunate
 duke of Milan, who then lay at the point of death,
 a victim to the ambition of his uncle Lodovico.
 The dutchess Isabella, availed herself of this op-
 portunity, to throw herself at the feet of the mo-
 narch, to entreat his interference on behalf of her
 husband, and his forbearance towards her father
 and family; but the importunities of a daughter,
 a wife, and a mother, were lost on the depraved
 mind of Charles, and served only to excite the un-
 feeling remarks of his barbarian attendants.⁵ The
 duke did not long survive this interview; and Lo-
 dovico, having attained the height of his wishes,
 was saluted by a band of venal partisans, and a
 corrupt populace, as duke of Milan. His wife,
 Beatrice, daughter of Ercole, duke of Ferrara,
 who

His inter-
 view with
 Gian-Galeaz-
 zo, duke of
 Milan.

⁵ "Elle avoit meilleur besoin," says Commynes, "de
 "prier pour son mari et pour elle, qui estoit encore belle
 "dame et jeune." *lib. vii. chap. vi. p. 196.*

who had long and arrogantly contended with Isabella for precedence in rank and honours, now enjoyed a complete, but temporary triumph over her rival, who was driven from the court of Milan, and obliged, with her children, to take refuge in an obscure and sickly cell of the castle of Pavia. ^h

CHAP.
III.
1494.
Æt. 19.

On the arrival of Charles at Piacenza, a few days after this interview, he received intelligence of the death of the duke, Gian-Galeazzo; and although he had not the generosity to interfere on his behalf, he was shocked at a catastrophe which he had taken no measures to prevent, and celebrated his obsequies with great state and formality. ⁱ That the duke died by poison, administered to him at the instance of Lodovico Sforza, was the general opinion; and Theodoro of Pavia, an eminent physician, who had accompanied the king of France, in his interview with the duke, declared, that

Hesitates respecting the prosecution of his enterprise.

^h “ Isabella co i poveri figliuololetti, vestiti di lugubri vestimenti, come prigioniera si richiuse in una camera, “ e gran tempo stette giacendo sopra la dura terra, che “ non vide aere.” *Corio, Histor. Milanese, part. vii. p. 936.* This unfortunate princess, is introduced by Bernardo Accolti, as thus lamenting her misfortunes:—

“ Re padre, Re fratel, Duca in consorte
“ Ebbi, e in tre anni, i tre rapì la morte ”

Accolti. Op. ven. 1519.

ⁱ *Communes, Mem. lib. vii. chap. vii. p. 179. (Corr. 197.)*

CHAP. III. 1494. Et 19. that he had perceived manifest symptoms of its effects.^k A sudden panick seized the French monarch. The perpetration of such a crime, filled him with apprehensions for his own safety. He had already entertained well grounded suspicions of the fidelity of Lodovico Sforza, and had experienced considerable difficulties in obtaining the necessary supplies for his troops. In this situation, he began seriously to hesitate on the expediency of prosecuting his expedition; and his doubts were increased by a communication from his general and grand-ecuyer D'Urfé, then at Genoa, advising him to be on his guard against treachery. Such of his attendants as had been the first to encourage him to this undertaking, were now the most earnest in advising him to abandon it; and had not the Florentine exiles, and particularly Lorenzo and Giovanni, the sons of Pier-Francesco de' Medici, actuated by the hopes of supplanting the rival branch of their family, at this critical juncture, interposed their solicitations, and offered their services to the king, it is probable, that Italy might yet have been saved from her impending calamities.^l

Having recovered from his alarm, Charles quitted Piacenza, on the twenty-fifth day of October.

^k Guicciardin. lib. i. p. 49.

^l Mem. de Commines, liv. vii. chap. vii p. 197.

ber. A question of great moment now presented itself for his consideration : whether he should proceed through the Tuscan and Roman territories directly to Naples, or, by forcing a passage through Romagna and the March of Ancona, enter that kingdom by the district of Abruzzo. The judicious determination of the king and his advisers on this occasion, was of the utmost importance to the success of his enterprise. In relinquishing the track through Romagna, he was not deterred by the opposition which he might there meet, from the duke of Calabria, who had already retreated before the arms of D'Aubigny ; but he prudently considered, that unless he could either secure the alliance of the pope and the Florentines, or disable them from resistance, he might, during his contest with Alfonso, in Naples, be exposed to the hostile attack of these adjacent states. Instead, therefore, of directing his course towards Bologna, he ordered the duke de Mompensier, one of the princes of the family of Bourbon, to proceed with the advanced guard to Pontremoli, a town on the river Magro, which divides the Tuscan territory from that of Genoa ; to which place, Charles followed with the remainder of his army, having passed the Appenines, by the mountain of Parma. From Pontremoli, Mompensier proceeded through the district of Luigiana to Fivizano, a fortress belonging to the Florentines ; and being there joined by the Swiss mercenaries, who had returned from Genoa, and brought with them several heavy pieces

C H A P.

III.

1494.

Æt. 19.

Determines
to proceed by
way of
Florence to
Rome.

CHAP. pieces of artillery, the French attacked the castle,
 III. which they carried by storm, and put both the
 1494. garrison and inhabitants to the sword. The town
 Æt. 19. of Sarzana, which had been acquired by the prudence, and fortified under the directions of Lorenzo the Magnificent, next opposed their progress; and, although the number of soldiers employed in its defence was small, and the commander of little experience, or reputation, yet such was the situation and strength of the place, and of the adjacent citadel of Sarzanella, that the carrying them by force, was regarded as a matter of considerable difficulty. Nor could the French army long retain its position, in a situation between the sea and the mountains, where, from the sterility of the district, they could scarcely hope to obtain supplies. To proceed forwards, whilst these formidable positions remained in the hands of an enemy, was equally inconsistent with the honour and the safety of the king.^m

Piero de'
 Medici sur-
 renders to
 Charles VIII.
 the fortresses
 of Tuscany.

In this emergency, the unhappy dissensions which prevailed among the citizens of Florence, again relieved the French from their difficulties. From the time that the approach of the king had been announced, the resentment of the inhabitants had been chiefly directed against Piero de' Medici, whom

^m Guicciard. lib. i. *Mem. de Commynes*, lib. vii. chap. 7. v. i. p. 50, 51.

whom they considered as the principal cause of the dangers which they were likely to incur. On his part, Piero had endeavoured to regain their confidence, by active preparations for resisting the enemy; to which end he had strengthened the city of Pisa, and other fortified towns of the republick, and had, particularly, provided for the defence of Florence. These preparations, were not, however, effected without expense, and the levies imposed upon the citizens, became an additional cause of dissatisfaction. He then endeavoured to avail himself of the voluntary contributions of the richer classes; but, instead of the necessary aid, he obtained only reproaches and threats. Alarmed and dispirited, he adopted the hasty resolution of repairing in person to the French camp, for the purpose of endeavouring to conciliate the favour of Charles, by such timely concessions as circumstances might require. He therefore privately quitted the city, and hastened to Empoli, a few miles distant from Florence: whence he addressed a letter to the magistrates, which is yet preserved and which fully explains the motives of his conduct at this period, so critical to the fortunes of himself and his family.

"Magnificent and honoured Fathers,
"I shall not attempt to apologize for my sudden
"departure, because I can scarcely think myself
"culpable for taking a measure which, according
"to my weak judgment, appears to be the best
"remedy

CHAP. "remedy for restoring the tranquillity of my coun-

III. "try, and which, at the same time, is attended

1494. "with less danger and inconvenience than any

Æt. 19. "other, both to the publick and to individuals;

"excepting only myself. I therefore intend to

"present myself in person, before his most chris-

"tian majesty of France; as I may probably thus

"be enabled to appease the resentment which he

"has conceived against this city, for the conduct

"which it has hitherto been obliged to adopt, in

"consequence of its engagements with other states;

"it appearing to be only his majesty's wish, that

"an alteration should take place in this respect. I,

"who have been blamed as the cause of this ani-

"mosity, will, therefore, either exculpate myself

"to his majesty, or shall be ready to receive due

"punishment, rather in my own person, than in

"the body of the republick. Of this course of

"conduct, particular instances have been given in

"my own family; but I consider myself as under

"much greater obligations to exert myself, than

"any of my predecessors have been; because I

"have been honoured much more beyond my me-

"rits than any of them; and the more unworthy I

"am of those honours, the more I feel myself

"bound to engage in my present attempt, and not

"to shrink from labour, inconvenience, or expense,

"or even the sacrifice of my life, which I would

"willingly resign, for each of you in particular,

"and much more for the whole republick. This

"I shall probably manifest on the present occasion,

"on

“ on which I shall either return to the satisfaction
 “ of yourselves and the city, or lose my life in the
 “ attempt. In the mean time, I entreat you, by
 “ the fidelity and affection which you owe to the
 “ ashes of your Lorenzo, my late father, and the
 “ kindness which you have shown to me, who, in
 “ reverence and affection, am not less your son
 “ than his, that you will remember me in your
 “ prayers. I also have further to request, that
 “ you will accept my recommendation of my bro-
 “ thers and children, whom, if it should be the
 “ will of God that I should not return, I bequeath
 “ wholly to your care. I shall begin my journey
 “ from this place to-morrow.

PIERO DE MEDICI.”

In Empoli, 26 October, 1494.

From Empoli, Piero proceeded to Pisa, whence,
 on the following day, he addressed a letter to his
 private secretary Pietro da Bibbiena, in which he
 directs him to assure the Neapolitan ambassa-
 dours at Florence, of his unalterable attachment
 to Alfonso and the house of Aragon, from whom
 he entreats a favourable construction of the mea-
 sures which he has unfortunately been compelled
 to adopt. If his letter to the magistrates contain,
 as might be expected, only the more plausible and
 popular motives of his conduct, in this private
 communication, he explicitly acknowledges, that
 he has been abandoned by all the citizens of Flo-
 rence, as well his friends as his enemies; and that
 he

CHAP. he has neither resources nor credit to support the
 III. war, in which he has involved himself and his
 1494. country, by his adherence to his engagements with
 Et. 19. the royal house of Naples.

Under these discouraging impressions, Piero de' Medici presented himself, with a few attendants, at the French camp before Sarzana. On his arrival, two of the confidential officers of Charles, Monsieur de Piennes, his chamberlain, and the general Brissonet, were appointed to treat with him. Their first request was, that the fortress of Sarzana should be surrendered to the French arms, with which Piero instantly complied. They then insisted on Pisa, Leghorn, and Pietrasanta, being also delivered up to the king, on his promise to restore them, when they were no longer necessary to the success of his enterprise; and to this demand Piero also assented. The readiness with which he thus delivered up places of such strength and importance, astonished the French, who seem to have despised his weakness and ridiculed his credulity.ⁿ As he held no ostensible rank, they gave

ⁿ "Ceux qui traictoient avec le dict Pierre, m'ont
 "compté, et à plusieurs autres l'ont dit, en se raillant &
 "moquant de lui, qu'ils estoient ebahis comme si tot accor-
 "da si grande chose, et à quoi ils ne s'attendoient pas."
Mem. de Comm. liv. vii. chap. vii. p. 198. The circumstances

gave him the title of *Il gran Lombardo*; it being in those times customary to designate all the Italians by the general name of Lombards.^o

C H A P.

III.

1494.

Æt. 19.

The Florentines exasperated at the conduct of Piero de' Medici,

This unfortunate transaction, in which Piero de' Medici professedly imitated, but with mistaken application, the example of his father in his voyage to Naples, gave irremediable offence to the citizens of Florence; who, although they had refused to assist him in opposing the progress of the French, conceived that he had made a wanton sacrifice of their interests. It may, however, well be doubted, whether this was so much the reason as the pretext for the resentment of the Florentines, many of whom had become impatient of the authority of the Medici, and, being prompted by the violent harangues of Savonarola, sought only for an opportunity of exciting the populace to second their views. A new deputation was nominated, consisting of five citizens, among whom was Savonarola, who were directed to proceed to Lucca, where the king had now arrived, and to entreat him to moderate the severity of the terms agreed on. Charles gave them an attentive audience; but neither the persuasions nor the threats of the priest, who

of this interview are also related by André de la Vigne in his *Vergier d'honneur*, with his usual insipidity.

^o Nardi, *Hist. di Fiorenza*, lib. i. p. 11.

CHAF. who represented himself as a messenger on the
 III. part of God, could induce the king to relax from
 1494. his former stipulations.^p This measure, was, how-
 Et. 19. ever, a sufficient indication to Piero de' Medici,
 of the dissatisfaction which his conduct had occasioned, and of the necessity of securing himself against the effects of that animosity, which would probably be excited against him. He therefore engaged his near relation, Paolo Orsini, who then commanded a body of troops in the service of the republick, to accompany him towards the city, intending to suppress the outrages of the populace by force of arms, and, as his adversaries have conjectured, to take upon himself the uncontrolled dominion of the state; to which he is supposed to have been incited by his wife, Alfonsina, and her relations of the Orsini family^q On his arrival, he proceeded with a few attendants to the palace of justice, apparently for the purpose of explaining to the citizens the reasons of his conduct; but Luca Corsini, Giacompo de' Nerli, and other magistrates, met him at the gates, and with many reproaches, opposed his admission. This circumstance occasioned a general clamour and commotion, in which the friends of the Medici, who attempted to suppress the tumult, were insulted and plundered; whilst Piero, with difficulty, escaped the resentment of the populace,

In

^p Nardi, *Hist. di Fiorenza*, lib. i. p. 11.

^q Nardi, *Hist. di Fiorenza*, lib. i. p. 12.

In the mean time, the cardinal, less obnoxious to the people than his brother, endeavoured to conciliate their favour by pacifick remonstrances, and by the cry of *Palle, Palle*, in reference to the arms of his family. But the charm which had lasted so many years was now broken; and these words, which had seldom been heard without producing a favourable effect, only served to excite additional indignation. The clamour and violence of the populace increased; the alarm bell rang; the prisoners were set at liberty, the further progress of the cardinal was prevented by impenetrable crowds, whilst Piero and his attendants were threatened with an attack of stones, from the windows and roofs of the houses. The fate of the Medici hung on the decision of a moment; and Piero had to determine, whether he would try the event of arms in the bosom of his native place, or abandon the city, and seek a refuge in some other part of Italy. Of these expedients, he adopted the latter; but, by an unaccountable fatality, instead of resorting to the French camp, where he would probably have obtained the favour and protection of Charles, for having complied with whose requisitions he had been obliged to quit the city, he passed with his brother Giuliano, through the gate of S. Gallo, and took the road to Bologna.^{*}

C H A P.
III.
1494.
Æt. 19:
The cardinal de' Medici, with his brothers, Piero and Giuliano, expelled the city.

The

^{*} This event occurred on the ninth day of November, 1494. *Nardi, lib. i. p. 13.*

CHAP. The cardinal, either not equally alarmed at the
 III. danger, or more reluctant to quit his native place,
 1494. was the last of the brothers who left the city. Find-
 Æt. 19. ing, however, that the populace were proceeding
 to the utmost extreme of violence, he divested
 himself of the insignia of his rank, and, assuming
 the habit of a Franciscan, passed, without being
 recognised, through the midst of the exasperated
 multitude, to the convent of S. Marco, where he
 hoped to find a temporary shelter, in a building
 erected and endowed by his ancestors. In this,
 however, he was disappointed; the monks having,
 with singular ingratitude, refused to admit him
 within their gates. Repulsed from the only quar-
 ter on which he relied for protection, he immedi-
 ately abandoned the city, and hastening into the
 secret recesses of the Appenines, effected his re-
 treat, and joined his brothers at Bologna.*

The palace of
 the Medici
 plundered.

No sooner had the Medici quitted the city,
 than the rage of the populace broke out in open
 acts of violence. The palace of the Medici, and
 the

* *Ammirato, Ritratti d' huomini di Casa Medici. Opusc.*
v. iii. p. 65. To the short period which elapsed between
 the death of Lorenzo and the expulsion of his son Piero,
 we may refer the Latin poem of Lorenzo Vitelli, entitled
Arborea; in which, under the allegory of a vigorous and
 fruitful tree, he describes the flourishing family of the
 Medici; not aware of the sudden blight which it was shortly
 to experience. *v. Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. vol. xi. p. 386.*

the houses of several of the chief officers of the state, who were supposed to be favourable to their party, were attacked and plundered. The residence of the cardinal, in the district of S. Antonio, experienced a similar fate; but a circumstance which cannot fail to excite the regret of every friend of the arts, is the destruction of the garden of S. Marco, established by the liberality and personal attention of Lorenzo the Magnificent, as an academy for the promotion of sculpture; the repository of the finest remains of antiquity, and the school of Michael Angelo. We might have pardoned the expunging of the figures of the rebels, painted on the walls of the palace, in the year 1434, or the obliteration of the labours of Andrea del Castagno, commemorating the conspiracy of the Pazzi, in 1478; but the destruction of this collection, was an irreparable misfortune to the progress of true taste, as yet in its earliest infancy; and was poorly compensated by the figure of Judith, executed by Donatello, at the request of the Florentines; and placed at the gate of the palace, as an emblem of the destruction of a tyrant.^c

On

^c *Ammirato, Istorie Fiorentine. vol. iii. p. 223.* The dispersion of the library of Politiano, followed soon after the exile of the Medici. The learned admirers of this great man, will, perhaps, be gratified with the inventory of the MSS. and other effects, found in his possession at the time

of

CHAP. On the same day that the brothers of the
 III. Medici were compelled to abandon their native
 1494. place,
 Æt. 19.

of his death, taken by the celebrated and learned Greek, Joannes Lascar, and which has not before been printed.

Ex. Orig. in Archiv. Reip. Flor.

Hoc est INVENTARIUM LIBRORUM, qui inventi sunt inter Libros Domini ANGELI POLITIANI quos secernendo extraxit inde Dominus JOHANNES LASCHARI Græcus, ex commissione Dominorum; coram Domino Theodoro et coram Domino Bartholomæo de Crais; quod inventarium confectum fuit in domo Petri de Medicis, die xxiv. Octobris, 1495. ut patet in originali.

ARISTOTELIS Poetica, et quædam alia. in Græco. *in Papyro.*
 GALENI de compositione pharmacorum. *in Papyro.* in Græco.

PETRI HISPANI, Dialectica et quædam alia, in Græcum de Latino versa. *in Papyro.*

Leges quædam, cum glossis. *In Membrana.* glossulæ vero sunt in marginibus.

Omeliæ JOHANNIS CRISOSTOMI. in Græco.

SERVIUS, in Virgilium. *in Membrana.* Latinus codex.

ARISTOTELIS de Mundo, in Græco; simul cum POLEMONIS meditationibus, et Aristotelis Metaphysicis. *in Papyro.*

Compendium trium Librorum ORIBASII; factum per HAETIUM. *in Papyro.*

Instituta, in. Græco. *in Papyro.*

Epistolæ THEODORI LASCHARIS. *In Papyro.* In Græco.

ACTUABII opus de Medicina, de Urinis; in Græco. *in Papyro;* et GALENI quædam.

GALENI quædam in Medicina, et ejusdem liber de dicto Auctore, in Græco. *in Papyro.*

ALEXANDER

place, an event occurred in the city of Pisa, which, C H A P.
 although in its origin, of small comparative im- III.
 portance, 1494.
Æt. 19.

ALEXANDER TRALIANUS, in Medicina, in Græco. in *Papyro*.

Liber GALENI in Medicina ; cujus primum capitulum de Cardiacis. in *Papyro*. In *asseribus, sine operimento*. In Græco.

GALENI de compositione pharmacorum. in *Papyro*. Signatus No. 225. Græco.

Liber GALENI in Medicina ; in Græco. in *Papyro*. habens primum capitulum de Theriacis Alexipharmicis. In *asseribus, non opertus*. Signatus No. 223.

GALENUS de usu particularum in homine, et liber ejusdem de pulsibus. in *Papyro*. et Græco. Signatus No. 215

PRISCIANUS quidam antiquus. in *Membrana*. Signatus No. 347. Latinus.

PRISCIANUS iterum antiquus. in *Membrana*. No. 626. Latinus.

DEMOSTHENIS Orationes. Græcæ. in *Papyro*.

Historia ZONARÆ. in *Papyro*. in Græco.

GALENI de pharmacis, secundum genus. In Græco. in *Papyro*. No. 218.

PEDACII Dioscoride Anazarbis, in Græco. Liber de materia. in *Papyro*. Signatus No. 230.

Compendium Philosophiæ GEORGII PROTERCTORI. In Græco. in *Papyro*.

ARISTOTELIS Metaphysica parumper, et Galeni de Anatomia. No. 216. (*hunc Codicem D. Io. Lascari fenes sc.*)

Pars POLLUCIS et quædam alia, et POLIENIS Stratagemata. In Græco. in *Papyro*, et antiquo codice, volumine medio-cri, tecto operimento rubro. No. 91.

Excerpta quædam ex diversis auctoribus, et proverbia, et quædam alia. Sine tabulis. in *Papyro*.

PYNDARI

CHAP. portance, became, in the event, a fruitful source
 III. of contention and bloodshed; and served, when
 1494. the terrors of a foreign enemy were removed, to
 Et. 19. disturb the repose, and protract the calamities of
 Pisa asserts its liberties. Italy. Irreconcilably adverse to the Florentine
 government, the citizens of Pisa were, at all times,
 ready to avail themselves of any opportunity to
 assert their ancient liberties. This restless and
 unconquerable spirit, afforded a reason, or a pre-
 text for additional cautions and severities on the
 part of the Florentines; which, without subduing
 the courage, excited the resentment of the people.
 No

PYNDARI Olympica, et pars Pythiorum, cum expositione.
in Papyro. In Græco. No. 87.

XENOPHONTIS Græciæ Historia. *in Papyro. Sine tabulis.*
In Græco. No. 622.

Quædam in Physica. Primum de Climatibus Terræ, et
 Expositio THEONIS in Arati phenomena. *in Papyro.*
Sine Tabulis. In Græco. No. 139.

ARISTOTELIS Politica. *In Græco. in Papyro. Ligata in*
quadam carta membranæa.

ARATUS cum expositione. *In Græco. In Membranis, ligatus*
in quadam Carta.

Galenî Liber antiquus. *In Græco. In Membranis. In qua-*
dam Carta.

Vocabula quædam Medicinalia, et quædam alia. *In Græco.*
In Papyro. In tabulis, sine operimento. Vetustissima.
No. 221.

Quædam recollecta a Domino ANGELO POLITIANO in pue-
 ritia sua. *in Papyro. In Latino, et ligata simul in quadam*
Carta membranæa.

No sooner had Charles, after quitting Lucca, arrived at Pisa, than he was surrounded by a tumultuous assemblage of the inhabitants, who, with affecting lamentations, and grievous complaints against their oppressors, entreated the king to free them from their yoke.* The earnest and repeated solicitations of the multitude, made a powerful impression on some of the favourite attendants of the king, who observed to him, that the request of the citizens was just and reasonable; whereupon Charles, acting under the impulse of his immediate feelings, and forgetful or regardless of his solemn engagement, to restore the city of Pisa to its former governours, signified his assent to their request. This hasty and inconsiderate assurance, was received by the citizens of Pisa, as a full emancipation from their servitude, and their exultation was displayed by the immediate demolition of the arms and insignia of the Florentines throughout the city. The Florentine commissioners, were at the same time expelled from Pisa, not

CHAP.

III.

1494.

Art. 19.

* " Par grans monceaux le commun populaire

" Deça, dela, c'estoit voulu assire,

" Pour hault crier en amour volontaire ;

" Voire si hault qu'ils ne pouvoyent taire,

" *Libertate, Libertate*, chier sire ;

" Qui en François vault autant comme dire,

" *Helas, sire, donnez nous liberté.*" &c.

And. de la Vigne, Vergier d'honneur.

CHAP. Not without great apprehensions of violence to
 III. their persons, which was prevented only by the
 1494. authority of the king and his attendants.

Æt. 19.

Retreat of
 the duke of
 Calabria be-
 fore the arms
 of D'Aubig-
 ny.

Whilst Charles was thus hastening, without interruption, towards the object of his destination, his general, D'Aubigny, had made a considerable progress in Romagna, where he had attacked and taken several fortresses, and had compelled Caterina Sforza, widow of Girolamo Riario, who then governed the states of Imola and Forli, in the name of her infant son Ottaviano, to relinquish the alliance into which she had entered with the pope and the king of Naples. His approach towards Faenza, with the additional troops which had joined his standard, alarmed the duke of Calabria, who, quitting his intrenchments, proceeded with his army, by the most retired and difficult paths, to Cesena. He was there informed of the commotions which had arisen in Florence, and of the surrender of the chief fortresses of the Tuscan state to the French arms; in consequence of which he again broke up his camp, and hastily retreated towards Rome. By these pusillanimous measures, the power of the French, which, like a small stream, might have been successfully checked in its commencement, was suffered to proceed in an uninterrupted course, and, by a continual accession, to bear down all possibility of resistance.

On

On the eleventh day of November, Charles left C H A. P. Pisa, and proceeded to Empoli, intending to enter III. the city of Florence; but on his arrival at Signa, 1494. about six miles distant, he received information of Et. 19. the expulsion of the Medici, in consequence of the surrender of the fortified towns of the republic to his arms. Conceiving it, therefore, not improbable that he might meet with resistance, he ordered D'Aubigny, who was no longer opposed in Romagna, to join him with a part of the troops under his command. This measure greatly alarmed the inhabitants of Florence, who began to suspect that Charles intended to possess himself of the city by force. Nor were there wanting among his followers, many who advised him to this measure, and who even endeavoured to prevail upon

Charles VIII.
enters the
city of Flo-
rence.

† The intention of the king to attack the city, is also thus adverted to by André de la Vigne:—

“ Au pont du Signe fut des jours cinq ou six ;

“ Car Florentins mutines et perdus

“ S'estoient contre Pièrré de Medycys,

“ Qui leurs chateaulx avoit au roy rendus,

“ Dessus les champs mises ses guettes et gardes,

“ Et leur monstra de si bon remisé,

“ Que tost après vindrent les ambassades

“ De Florence, de Sene, et de Venice :

“ Fait assembler avoit ja tous ses gens,

“ Et amener toute l'artillerie,

“ Pour a Florence, sans estre negligens,

“ Y aller faire quelque grand dyablerie.”

CHAP. upon him to deliver it up to be plundered by the
 III. soldiery, on the pretence of its being the first place
 1494. that had resisted his arms, and as an example to
 Et 19. the rest of Italy.* The Florentines were, how-
 ever, incessant in their embassies and representa-
 tions to Charles; and perhaps the rich presents
 and delicate viands, with which they supplied his
 camp at Signa, might, in some degree, mitigate
 his resentment. Nor did they neglect the best
 precautions in their power to secure themselves
 against hostilities, in case the king should prove
 irreconcilable. Great numbers of armed men
 from different parts of the Tuscan territory, en-
 tered the city under various pretexts, and were
 secretly lodged in the houses of the citizens. The
condottieri, in the service of the republick, distri-
 buted their troops in the most convenient stations,
 and held themselves in readiness for action, on the
 tolling of the great bell of the palace of justice.
 These alarms, however, soon subsided, and on the
 seventeenth day of November,* Charles made his
 peaceable

* *Guicciardini*, lib. i. v. i. p. 58.

* On the same day died at Florence, in the thirty second year of his age, the accomplished Giovanni Pico, of Mirandula, and, if we may credit the report of Savonarola, had the good fortune to obtain a situation in purgatory. This intelligence, the preacher thus announced to his audience at the conclusion of one of his sermons, a few days after the death of that eminent man. "Io vi voglio rivelare
 " un

peaceable and publick entry into the city on horse-
back, under a rich canopy, supported by some of
his younger nobles, and attended by his barons and
men at arms. He was met on his approach, by
the magistrates and principal inhabitants, who
accompanied him to the church of S. Maria del
Fiore, where he paid a visit to the great altar;
after which he proceeded to the palace of the
Medici, which was magnificently prepared for his
reception.* His nobility and chief officers were
lodged in the princely houses of the richer inhabi-
tants; and the illumination of the city, which con-
tinued

C H A P.

III.

1494.

Æt. 19.

“ un secreto, che insino a quì non ho voluto dirlo, perchè
“ non ho avuto tanta certezza come ho avuto da diece hore
“ in quà. Ciascuno di voi credo che cognoscesse il conte
“ Giovanni della Mirandola, che stava quì in Firenze, ed è
“ morto pochi giorni sono. Dicovi che l'anima sua, per le
“ orationi de' frati, ed anche per alcune sue buone opere,
“ che fece in questa vita, e per altre orationi, è nel purga-
“ torio—*orate pro eo*—lui fu tardo a non venire alla reli-
“ gione in vita sua, come era spirato, e però è in purgato-
“ rio.” The verses of Marullus, on the death of Pico, are
more appropriate, although less known, than the ostenta-
tious lines inscribed on his tomb in the church of S. Marco,
at Florence. *v. Op. Mar. 53.*

* *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 14.* The entrance of the
king into Florence is one of those topicks on which his
poetical annalist, De la Vigne, dwells with particular sa-
tisfaction. On this occasion he enumerates the whole
array of the French army, and all the attendants of the
king.

CHAP. continued every night during the stay of the king,
 111. contributed no less to its peace and security, than
 1494. to the honour of its royal guest. Conciliated by
 Æt. 19. these attentions, Charles passed several days in
 partaking of the amusements prepared for him.
 Among these was the *Rappresentazione* of the
 annunciation of the virgin, which was exhibited,
 with great splendour and mechanical ingenuity, in
 the church of S. Felice, and with which the king
 was so greatly delighted, that he requested to be
 gratified by a second exhibition.*

No sooner had the three brothers of the Medici quitted the city, than Lorenzo and Giovanni, the sons of Pier-Francesco, returned to Florence, and were restored to their possessions and their rights;† but the name of the Medici was now become

* Nardi, *Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 15.*

† Lorenzo, the son of Pier-Francesco, appears to have emulated his relations of the elder branch of his family, in the love of literature and patronage of learned men, Politiano has addressed to him his *Sylva*, entitled *Manto*, in terms of great esteem:—"Ferreus sim," says he, "si tibi quid denegem, tam nobili adolescenti, tam probo, tam mei amanti, tanto denique eam rem studio efflagi-
 tanti." The beautiful introductory stanzas to this piece, have been elegantly translated, by the Rev. Mr. Greswell, in his *Memoirs of Politiano*, &c. p. 92. Lorenzo di Pier-Francesco, was also the great patron of the poet Marullus, who has inscribed to him, at different times, his four books of epigrams,

come odious, and with a despicable servility, which C H A P.
 has been imitated in subsequent times, they relin- III.
 quished their family appellation, and adopted that 1494.
 of *Popolani*; at the same time, removing from Æt. 19.
 their residence, the insignia of their arms, and
 replacing them by those of the republick.

In the mean time, Piero and his brothers, in Pierode' Me-
 dici retires to
 Venice, and
 the cardinal
 to Castello.
 their retreat to Bologna, had not experienced that
 friendly reception which they had reason to expect
 from Giovanni Bentivoglio, who then held the
 chief authority in that place, and whose obligations
 to their father were supposed to be a sufficient
 pledge for his favour. Expecting from others that
 fortitude which, in the moment of adversity, he
 did not exhibit himself, Bentivoglio, instead of
 consoling them in their misfortunes, or encouraging
 their

epigrams, several of which are devoted to his praise. In
 one of these he is thus addressed:—

“Felix ingenii, felix et gratiæ opumque,

“Laurus, et antiquis non leve nomen avis,

“Quærenti cuidam num plura his optet? ut, inquit,

“Et prodesse queam pluribus, et cupiam.” *p.* 42.

Marullus also addressed to Giovanni, the other son of
 Pier-Francesco, a copy of Latin verses, in praise of Cate-
 rina Sforza, the widow of Girolamo Riario, whom Giovan-
 ni afterwards married, and by whom he had Giovanni
 de' Medici, captain of the *bande nere*, and usually called
Il gran diavolo, father of Cosmo I. grand duke of Tuscany.

v. Epigr. lib. iv. p. 54.

CHAP. their hopes, reproached them for having pusillanimously quitted a place, where they had such influence and resources, not only without the death of a single adherent, but without even the unsheathing of a sword, or the slightest effort in their own defence. As this remonstrance could now be of no avail, the brothers considered it as a sufficient indication, that Bologna would not long be a place of safety. Piero, disguised in the habit of a valet, hastened to Venice, where he met with an honourable reception from the senate, who permitted him to wear his arms in the city, and to be attended by fifteen or twenty of his adherents. The cardinal, shortly afterwards, retreated to Pitigliano, and from thence to Castello, where he found a hospitable shelter with the Vitelli, then the lords of that place, and the ancient friends of his family.^b

Among the nobility who attended the French king on his expedition, there was no one who enjoyed

^b *Ammirato, Ritratti d'huomini illustri di casa Medici.* 52, 65. Philip de Commines was at Venice when Piero de' Medici arrived, and seems to have taken an interest in his misfortunes; for, says he, "j'avois aimé le pere." Piero, in recounting his disasters, particularly dwelt on the unkindness of one of his factors, who refused to furnish him with apparel, to the amount of one hundred ducats, for the use of himself and his brother. So true is it, that ingratitude is the sting of misfortune.

joyed a greater share of his confidence, than Philip de Bresse, uncle to the young duke of Savoy, and who succeeded at no distant period to the sovereignty of that state. On the arrival of the army at Florence, this nobleman had taken up his residence at the house of Lorenzo Tornabuoni, a near relation of Piero de' Medici, who found the means of influencing him in favour of the exiled family; insomuch that De Bresse did not hesitate strenuously to advise the king to recall Piero, and restore him to his former authority in Florence. Nor was Charles averse to a measure which was recommended to him no less by the recent compliance of Piero with his request, at so critical a juncture, than by the remembrance of the connexion which had so long subsisted between their families, and the many services rendered by the Medici to himself and his ancestors. Despatches were accordingly sent to Bologna, requesting Piero to return into the vicinity of Florence, and assuring him of the speedy restoration of his former authority; but these letters did not arrive till he had already taken his departure for Venice, to which place they were forwarded by the cardinal. Instead, however, of complying with the requisition of the king, Piero imprudently laid this communication before the members of the senate, desiring their opinion on the measures which he ought to pursue. The advice which they gave was such as suited their own interest, rather than the circumstances of their guest. Neither the promotion of the views of the

C H A P. III.

1494.

Et. 19.

Charles intends to reinstate Piero de' Medici.

CHAP. French, nor the tranquillity of the state of Florence, were desirable objects to the Venetians.

1494] They therefore represented to Piero, the hazards
Æt. 19. which he would incur by his implicit confidence in the assurances of the king, and flattered him with promises that, when occasion offered, they would themselves assist in effecting his restoration.^c Influenced by their representations, Piero lost the only opportunity which ever occurred, of being restored to his native place; whilst the state inquisitors of Venice directed that he should be narrowly watched, so that he might not quit the city without their consent.^d

Commotions
in Florence,
and treaty
with Charles
VIII.

But although the favourable intentions of the king towards Piero de' Medici, were thus rendered ineffectual, the rumour of such a design excited a violent alarm in the city, which was increased by the king's avowing his determination to establish a civil authority, and to exercise, by his own magistrates, a paramount jurisdiction. On this occasion, the citizens of Florence gave a decisive proof, that they were no less resolute in defending their liberties, than they were solicitous, by every reasonable concession, to conciliate the good

^c Guicciardini, lib. i. v. i. p. 59.

^d Guicciardini, lib. i. v. i. p. 57, 59. Nardi, Hist. di Fior. p. 15.

good will of the king. The magistrates expressed their determination to resist, to the utmost extremity, rather than submit to conditions which they conceived would for ever deprive them of their rights, and afford a pretext for the monarchs of France to consider them as their vassals. The populace, animated with the same spirit, thronged to the palace; the French soldiers were under arms; the Swiss guards had already attacked the *Borgo d'ogni Santi*, on pretence that the king was in danger, but had been repulsed by the populace, and discomfited by showers of stones thrown from the roofs and windows. The tumult had continued for an hour, and the whole city was on the point of becoming a dreadful scene of massacre and bloodshed; when some of the French chiefs, and a deputation from the magistrates, made their appearance, and by their united efforts and conciliating assurances, succeeded in restoring the public tranquillity. This vigorous opposition induced the king to relax in his pretensions; but whilst he consented to relinquish all interference in the

CHAP.

III.

1494.

Art. 19.

* Guicciardini, whilst he admits that the citizens and the French soldiery lived in mutual apprehension and distrust of each other, asserts, that they did not proceed to acts of violence.—“Niuno assaltava l'altro o provocava;” but Nardi, who was also a Florentine and a contemporary, and whose history is chiefly confined to the internal transactions of the city, informs us, that this affray lasted more than an hour. *Nardi, Hist. di Flor. lib. i. 13.*

CHAP. the municipal concerns of the Florentines, he insisted on the payment of a large sum of money, as the price of their exemption. On this occasion, the courage of an individual completed what the spirit of the people had begun. The conditions proposed by the king, had been read by his secretary, who declared, that they were the ultimate and only terms to which he would accede; when Piero Capponi, one of the four deputies who had been authorized to negotiate the treaty, stepped forwards, and seizing the paper from the hands of the secretary, tore it in the presence of the king; at the same time exclaiming—"If these be your terms, you may sound your trumpets, and we shall ring our bells." This act of open defiance, from a citizen of acknowledged ability and integrity, and who was well known to Charles, having resided as an ambassadour in his court, had an immediate effect on the king; who probably considered, that although he might succeed in subduing the inhabitants and destroying the city, the consequences

^f Machiavelli has recorded this event in his first Decennale:

"Lo strepito dell'arme e de' cavalli,
 " Non potè far che non fosse sentita;
 " La voce d'un Cappon fra cento Galli.
 " Tanto che'l re superbo se partita,
 " Poscia che la cittate essere intese;
 " Per mantener sua libertate unita."

consequences of such a measure, would be the ruin of his expedition. Affecting, therefore, to receive in good part this daring remonstrance, he directed that Capponi, who had quitted the room in apparent anger, should be recalled; and the treaty was concluded without further difficulty.^c The principal heads of the convention, were a participation of mutual privileges between the two countries; that to his title of king of France, Charles should add that of *Restorer and protector of the liberties of Florence*; that as a mark of gratitude, the republick should present the king with a free gift of one hundred and twenty thousand florins; that the fortresses and places surrendered to the French, should be restored, on certain specified conditions; that the citizens of Pisa, on receiving their pardon, should return to their former obedience; that the sequestration of the effects of the cardinal de' Medici, and his brothers Piero and Giuliano, should be annulled, excepting that the hereditary property of the two younger brothers, should remain liable to the debts of the elder. That none of the brothers should approach within a certain distance of the city, which, with regard

to

^c Il re fattolo richiamare indietro, perche era suo familiare, essendo stato oratore in Francia appresso di sua maestà, sorridendo disse. *Ah Ciappon, Ciappon, voi siete un mal Ciappon.* Nardi, *Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 15.* This royal equivoue, is not worth a translation.

C H A P. to Piero, was limited to two hundred miles, and
III. with respect to the cardinal and Giuliano, to one
1494. hundred; and, lastly, that Alfonsina Orsini, the
Æt. 19. wife of Piero, should be allowed to enjoy her dowry, for her separate support. The treaty thus agreed on, was ratified on the following day, being the twenty-sixth of November, in the church of S. Maria del Fiore, where a solemn mass was celebrated, and Charles swore *on the word of a king*, faithfully to observe the conditions of the contract.^h

Charles VIII.
enters the
territories of
the Church.

The stipulations between Charles and the Florentines being concluded, the citizens expected his immediate departure from Florence; where the conduct of himself and his followers continued to excite great apprehensions. He did not, however, appear to be in haste to prosecute his expedition; and Savonarola was again deputed to request an interview with him, and endeavour to prevail upon him to quit the city. The arguments of Savonarola on this occasion, were of a very peculiar kind.

He

^h "Sub verbo regis."—*Nardi Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 16.* The original treaty yet subsists in the *Bibliotheca Naniana*, at Venice, under the title of, *Capitula et conventiones inter Carolum VIII. regem Francorum et populum Florentinum. Florentia, die XXVI. Novembris MCCCCXCIV. jurata in Ecclesia cathedrali, per ipsum regem, et priores dictæ civitatis, apud altare majus, post missæ celebrationem.* v. *Morellii, MSS. Lat. Bib. Naniana. p. 125. Ven. 1775.*

He reminded the king, that during the four pre-
ceding years, he had himself, predicted his arrival
in Italy; that God had called him to this under-
taking, for the reformation of the church; but that
unless he manifested greater zeal and activity in
the accomplishment of his labours, he would not
be found worthy of carrying them into effect, and
God would provide other instruments for that pur-
pose.ⁱ These remonstrances might, perhaps,
have lost their effect, had they not been seconded
by the earnest solicitations of the vigilant and faith-
ful D'Aubigny, who complained to the king of
his imprudence, in neglecting to avail himself of
the advantages afforded him, and in allowing his
adversaries so fair an opportunity of preparing for
their defence. Convinced of the expediency of
the measure, Charles immediately prepared for his
departure, and on the twenty-eighth day of Novem-
ber quitted the city, to the great joy of the in-
habitants, having a few days before issued a mani-
festo, in which he not only asserted his rights to
the kingdom of Naples, but avowed his intentions,
after the acquisition of that kingdom, of avenging
the injuries which the christian world had sustained
from the depredations and cruelties of the Turks.^k
From Florence the king proceeded to Baroncegli;
and

C H A P.

III.

1494

Æt. 19.

ⁱ Nardi, *Histor. Fior. lib. i. p. 17.*

^k Lünig, *Codex diplomat. Ital. 2. 1302.*

CHAP. and afterwards, passing through Certosa and Pog-
 III. gibbonzi, arrived at Siena, where he spent several
 1494. days, indulging himself in splendid banquets and
 Et. 19. licentious amours.¹ On quitting the Florentine
 territories, the French army had defiled through
 the pass of Valdarno, where it became practicable
 to estimate its numbers with tolerable accuracy;
 and it was the common opinion that, including
 cavalry, infantry, and followers of every descrip-
 tion, it amounted to sixty thousand persons.^m
 From the Tuscan state, the king advanced without
 opposition, into the territories of the church; and
 possessing himself of Aquapendente, Viterbo,
 and other places, despoiled and plundered the in-
 habitants. At this juncture, Piero de' Medici,
 having eluded the vigilance of his Venetian guards,
 hastened through Ancona and Romagna, and made
 his appearance in the French camp; where he was
 received with kindness by the king, among whose
 courtiers he had obtained no inconsiderable share
 of favour and interest.ⁿ

The

¹ *Nardi, lib. i. p. 17.*

^m Alessandro Benedetti, in his *Fatto d'arme del Torre*,
 p. 6, states the French army at only twenty-five thousand,
 viz. Horse, five thousand, Flemish and Swiss, fifteen
 thousand, and the remainder, infantry of various nations:
 but besides these, he admits, that there was a considerable
 number of Italian auxiliaries.

ⁿ *Nardi, lib. i. p. 17.*

The facility with which Charles was thus permitted to proceed through the centre of Italy, on an expedition so hostile and dangerous to its repose, was not unobserved by many of those eminent literary characters with which it abounded. In particular, the inactivity of the state of Venice, which was then at its highest pitch of power and splendour, excited the surprise of all the true friends to the ancient independence of their country. Nor were these sentiments wholly confined to silent lamentation and unavailing regret. About the time that Charles quitted the territory of Florence, an attempt was made by an anonymous individual, to rouse the Italian states to a proper sense of their own dignity, and the dangers of their situation. But his efforts, at this juncture, were necessarily confined only to remonstrance and exhortation, and these he chose to express in the animated language of poetry. His production yet remains, and throws considerable light on the circumstances of the times. It is written in *terza rima*, and is addressed to the doge of Venice, Agostino Barbado. The Italian governments are distinguished by the devices of their arms. "The serpent of the house of Sforza, has changed the current of the Tesino, and mingled it with that of the Reno. The Florentine lion, like a dog that has undergone correction, declines his head; and the wolf of Siena has wandered from her usual path." He then calls on the Venetian state to assist the common cause.

C H A P. III.

1494.

Æt. 19.

The states of Italy are exhorted to oppose the progress of the French.

C H A P.

III.

1494.

Æt. 19.

Italia, once the praise of every tongue,
 Now scarcely drags her languid steps along ;
 But let thy glorious standard, wide unfurled,
 Tremendous wave before the shrinking world ;
 And bid thy winged lion, at whose sight
 The forest tenants seek the shades of night,
 Spread his broad vans, distend his serried jaws,
 Shake his strong mane, and ope his sheathed claws ;
 Ferrara's Hercules shall strive in vain,
 Nemean like, to stretch him on the plain ;
 Though to thy matchless glory adverse still,
 His power is only wanting to his will.

The lamentations of the different cities of Italy are followed by a spirited exhortation to a vigorous and united defence, and the alliance and protection of Alfonso, are particularly recommended to the chief of the Venetian republick.

Assertor of Italia's rights and laws,
 Do thou defend *Alfonso's* sacred cause,
 Nor trust barbarian hordes, whose hearts of steel,
 Relenting pity never taught to feel ;
 From foes like these, intent on spoil and strife,
 Defend thy country's freedom with thy life ;
 Nor let the serpent with his scaly train,
 Nor Gallick cock, thy native seats profane. °

Although

° This poem remained in manuscript until the year 1738, when it was given to the publick, by the learned Giovambattista Parisotto, in the *Opuscoli* of Calogera, tom. xviii. accompanied with an introductory letter and notes by the editor. He is, however, mistaken, in supposing, that the poem was written *after* Charles VIII. had possessed

Although the name of the author of this poem C H A P.
 be lost, it sufficiently appears, from several pas- III.
 sages, that he was one of the Italian *condottieri*, who 1494.
 had been engaged in the service of the state of Æt. 19.
 Venice; and that he had been, on some occasion,
 a long time prisoner at Milan. That this compo-
 sition should, of itself, produce any evident effect
 on the conduct of the Italian governments, is not
 to be supposed; but the opinions of an individual,
 on great publick occasions, are seldom peculiar to
 himself;

possessed himself of the kingdom of Naples; it appearing,
 from several passages, to have been written whilst Charles
 was on his way through Italy. I. The author mentions
 Alfonso as king of Naples; but he had abdicated the crown
 before the arrival of Charles. II. He expressly says, that
 the French are yet in Tuscany, and proceeding towards
 Rome:

“ ————— e già son sopra l’Arno,
 “ E van per ruinar il Coloseo.”

And again,

“ ————— fulminando va con gran tempesta,
 “ Verso l’antico suo seggio Romano.”

When the author laments the condition of Romagna——

“ Lacerata dal vulgo, aspro e feroce.”——

He seems to advert to the progress of the French arms in
 Romagna, under D’Aubigny, and not to the tumults of the
 people, or the tyranny of the rulers, as supposed by the
 editor.

CHAP. himself; that which is expressed by one, is frequently thought by thousands; and at such times, the publication of a single person, is the manifestation of a general sentiment, and often leads to important consequences. It is certain, that from this time, the Italian states began to consider, with more attention, the consequences of this expedition, and to adopt precautions for securing themselves against its effects. And although the king still continued his progress without interruption, yet a combination was speedily formed for intercepting him on his return to France, which, had it been properly conducted, might have caused him to expiate his temerity with the loss, not only of his reputation, but of his life.

CHAP. IV.

1494—1495.

ENTRY of Charles VIII. into Rome.—Treaty between Charles and the pope.—Alfonso II. abdicates the crown of Naples.—Indignation of his subjects.—Accession of Ferdinand II.—Charles enters the territories of Naples.—Ferdinand is betrayed by Trivulzio.—Charles VIII. enters the city of Naples, and assumes the government.—Contemporary opinions on that event.—Charles reduces the fortresses of Naples.—Endeavours to obtain from Ferdinand a surrender of his rights.—Conduct of Charles at Naples.—The exiled family resort to the aid of Ferdinand of Spain.—League between the Italian states and the Spaniards.—Dissatisfaction of the Neapolitans with Charles VIII.—Coronation of Charles VIII. at Naples.—Charles resolves to return to France.—Arrives at Viterbo.—Siena.—Interview with Savonarola at Pisa.—Eager entreaties of the inhabitants to obtain their liberties.—Louis, Duke of Orleans, claims the duchy of Milan.—Massacre of the inhabitants at Pontremoli.—Charles passes the Apennines.—Is opposed by the allied army under the marquis of Mantua.—Prepares for an engagement.—Battle of the Taro.—Ferdinand II. returns to Naples.—Contests between the French and Neapolitans.—Expulsion of the French from the kingdom of Naples.—Charles VIII. forms a new alliance with Lodovico Sforza, and returns to France.—Consequences of the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy.

AS Charles advanced towards Rome, he found that the terrour of his arms had every where preceded his approach, and that he had little to dread, either

CHAP.
IV.
1494.
Æt. 19.

C H A P. either from the force of the allies, or the opposition
IV. of the inhabitants. The unexampled serenity of
1494. the season, seemed also to concur in favouring his
Æt. 19. views : whilst the dissensions between the pope
 and the powerful barons of the Roman state had
 induced the latter openly to espouse his cause.
 Inferiour in number, and dispirited by their retreat,
 the Neapolitan troops had intrenched themselves
 under the walls of Rome, when Alexander VI.
 alarmed at the approach of the king, and unwilling
 to risk his safety on the event of an attack, de-
 spatched the bishops of Concordia and Terni, and
 his confessor Gratiano, with proposals to treat, on
 the part of Alfonso and himself, for a cessation of
 hostilities. These overtures, as far as regarded
 the king of Naples, were instantly rejected by
 Charles, who now saw no difficulty in the accom-
 plishment of his primary object, the expulsion of
 the house of Aragon ; but the favour of the pope
 was of no small importance, and he therefore sent
 the duke De la Tremouille, and the president
 Guenay, to treat with him, as to his own separate
 interests. The French deputies were accompanied
 by the cardinal Ascanio Sforza, and Prospero
 Colonna. The rejection of his first propositions,
 had however induced Alexander to take measures
 for the defence of the city, and before their arrival,
 he had admitted the duke of Calabria, with the
 Neapolitan troops, within the walls. The cardinal
 and Colonna were committed to prison, and in the
 commotions to which these measures gave rise,
 the

the French deputies were also seized upon, but C H A P.
 were speedily liberated by the orders of the pope. IV.
 The efforts of Alexander, for the defence of the 1494.
 city, were, however, fruitless. Already the chief Æt. 19.
 nobility had joined the standard of the French
 monarch. Even Virginio-Orsino, grand constable
 of Naples, whilst he continued in the service of
 the Aragonese, allowed his son to negotiate with
 Charles, for the reception of the French into the
 territories of his family, and for providing them
 with the necessary supplies. Influenced by the
 united apprehensions of external force and internal
 faction, Alexander renewed his treaty with the
 king, for admitting him with his troops into Rome.
 The deliberation was short; and the terms being
 concluded, Charles entered the city on horseback,
 at the head of his army, on the last day of Decem-
 ber, 1494. Alexander had offered to obtain from
 Charles a safe conduct for the duke of Calabria,
 through the ecclesiastical state; but Ferdinand
 rejected the proposal as an indignity, and at the
 very hour that the king entered the city, by the
 gate of S. Maria del Popolo, the duke evacuated it
 with his troops, by that of S. Sebastiano.^a

Notwithstanding the assurances of Charles, that
 he would treat the pontiff with all the reverence
 which his ancestors had been accustomed to pay
 to

^a Guicciard. lib. i. v. i. p. 61. & seq.

CHAP. to the holy see, Alexander could not, on this
 IV. occasion, divest himself of his fears; but flying
 1495. to the castle of S. Angelo, accompanied by the
 Et. 20. cardinals Orsini and Caraffa, sought to secure his
 personal safety. This imprudent timidity had
 nearly cost him his tiara; as it afforded an opportunity to his adversaries, and particularly to the
 cardinals, della Rovere and Sforza, of influencing
 the mind of the king, by representing to him the
 shameful traffick by which the pope had obtained
 his high dignity; the scandalous enormities of his
 private life, and his treachery in refusing to sur-
 render the castle of S. Angelo; for which, and
 similar reasons, they contended, that to depose him
 would not only be an excusable, but a commend-
 able act, and would entitle the king to the gratitude
 of the christian world. Twice was the artillery
 of the French brought out to attack the castle;
 but the crafty pontiff, at length found means to
 pacify the resentment of the monarch; and after
 long deliberation, a treaty was concluded, which
 was to be the basis of future union and mutual
 defence. By this treaty, the pope consented, that
 Charles should retain possession of Civita Vecchia,
 and other fortresses in the Roman state, until he
 had accomplished the conquest of Naples; and
 promised to dismiss all resentment against the Ro-
 man barons, who had espoused the cause of the
 French. In return, the king engaged to restore
 the pope to his authority in Rome, to perform per-
 sonal obedience to him, and not to require from
 him

Treaty be-
 tween
 Charles and
 the Pope.

him the possession of the castle of S. Angelo. As CHAP.
 a pledge for the performance of this treaty, it was IV.
 further agreed, that Cesar Borgia, cardinal of Va- 1495.
 lenza, should accompany the king on his expedi- Æt. 20.
 tion; and that Zizim, the brother of the Sultan
 Bajazet, should be consigned to the care of Charles,
 who should place him in safe custody at Terra-
 cina; but the annual payment of forty thousand
 ducats, transmitted to the pope by the sultan, as
 a compensation for keeping his brother at Rome,
 was expressly reserved to the pontiff.^b Alexander
 now ventured to quit his place of refuge, and an
 interview took place between him and the king,
 in the gardens of the pontifical palace. On the
 approach of the pontiff, with his cardinals, Charles
 twice bent his knees, but the pope pretended not
 to see him; when, however, he was about to
 repeat once more this act of submission, the pope,
 taking off his cap, hastened and prevented him, at
 the same time saluting him with a kiss. The king
 then being uncovered, the pope would not replace
 his cap until the king had restored his hat to its
 station, for which purpose the pope, with great
 civility, applied his hand to it, and they both
 covered

^b The minutes or heads of this treaty are given by Lünig, *Cod. Ital. Diplom.* ii. 795. Du Mont, *Corps diplomat.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 318. A copy is also preserved at Venice, which appears to be different from that which has been published. v. Morellii, *Cod. MS. Bib. Nanianae*. p. 126.

C H A P. covered themselves at the same moment. At this

IV. meeting it was observable that Charles did not kiss

1495. either the feet, or the hand, of the pontiff, and

Et 20. there can be no doubt, that Alexander had so contrived it, that he might not be under the necessity of demanding from the king a species of homage, which in the relative situation of their affairs, it was probable that he might not be inclined to pay. A subsequent interview was, however, appointed for the publick reception of the king, at which Charles performed, with due humiliation, the usual ceremonies, and professed, as a dutiful son of the church, his submission and obedience to the holy see.^c

During the negotiations between the two sovereigns, Charles had endeavoured to prevail upon the pope to grant him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples; but, although Alexander had, under the first impressions of terrour, incautiously assented to this request; yet he afterwards excused himself from complying with it, alleging that it affected the rights of others; and only promised that he would consult the college of cardinals, and

^c These, and many other particulars respecting the conduct of the king and the pontiff, are related by Burchard in his Diary.

and do all in his power for the satisfaction of the king.^d C H A P.
IV.

1495.

During the time that Charles remained at Rome, which was about the space of a month, he appears Æt. 20.

^d These circumstances also explicitly appear from the Diary of Burchard above cited, and may serve to correct an error of Guicciardini, who asserts, that the pope consented to invest Charles with the sovereignty of Naples, "investissilo il pontefice del Regno di Napoli," *lib. i. v. i. p. 64*. The long negotiations which afterwards took place on this subject, and which Guicciardini himself relates, and the silence of the treaty on this head, are a full confirmation, if any were yet wanting, of the veracity of Burchard. Respecting the investiture of the French king, it may be proper further to observe, that in the dissertation of M. de Foncemagne, on the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy, *Mem. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvii. p. 539*, that writer has endeavoured to show, that at the time the pope delivered up the Turkish fugitive, he also invested the French king, with the title of *Emperour of Constantinople*. In confirmation of this circumstance, not adverted to by any contemporary historian, he has produced and published a document, which purports to be the act of a notary publick, transferring the empire of the east, from Andrea Paleologus, to Charles; said to have been first discovered by the duke De St. Aignan, the French ambassadour at Rome, and presented by the pope, to Louis XIV. M. de Foncemagne, considers it as a French lawyer would a contract for the sale of a house; and not being able to discover, that the king appeared before the notary to affirm the contract, is inclined to doubt its validity. These doubts are increased by the discovery, that

CHAP. appears to have considered himself as complete
 IV. master of the city, and to have punished offenders
 1495. and executed criminals by his own authority.^e
 Et. 20. Brissonet, one of his chief favourites, and bishop
 of St. Maloes, was, at this time, honoured with
 the hat of a cardinal; and we may readily credit
 Commynes, when he informs us, that the resi-
 dence of the king at the palace of S. Marco, was
 the constant resort of all the dignified ecclesiasticks,
 and most eminent officers of the city.^f

It

that six years afterwards, Balcolagus made his will, and
 bequeathed his empire to Ferdinand and Isabella, of Spain,
 which *he could not have done*, had the previous disposition
 been effectual. I shall only remark, on one suspicious
 circumstance, respecting this investiture, viz: that it pur-
 ports to bear date, on the eighth day of September, 1494,
 nearly four months before the arrival of Charles at Rome,
 and whilst the pope was avowedly hostile to his views.

^e Soon after his arrival, some of his suit were insulted
 by the Jews, in consequence of which he ordered the
 Mareschal de Gies to inquire into the subject, and six of
 them were hanged in the Campo di Flora. He also erected
 gallows in different parts of the city, and executed several
 malefactors:

“ Par quoi l'on peut noter

“ Que sa puissance etoit bien singulier.”

Vergier d'Honneur.

^f *Mem. de Commynes, lib. vi. chap. x. xii.*

It might have been presumed, that the long and frequent delays of the king, in the progress of his expedition, would have been injurious to the success of his cause; but his negligence was no less favourable to him than his exertions; and whilst he was enjoying his honours and his pleasures in Rome, the inhabitants of many of the districts of Naples, and particularly those of Aquila and Abruzzo, had erected his standard, and only waited his approach to join his arms. At the same time, Fabrizio Colonna, one of his Italian stipendiaries, had occupied, in his name, the territories of Albi and Tagliacozza. But an event yet more important occurred at Naples; where Alfonso, being informed of the approach of the French, and the retreat of the Neapolitan army from Rome, and alarmed at the universal symptoms of disaffection amongst his subjects, resolved to relinquish his crown to his son Ferdinand, and to seek his own safety by flight. He accordingly dictated to Pontano, in the presence of his brother Federigo, and some of the chief barons of the state, the instrument of his renunciation;² after which, he secretly withdrew himself from the city; and accompanied only by a few confidential attendants, repaired, under the most evident symptoms of terroure, to the harbour, where four gallies were provided for his reception, in which he had
privately

C H A P.

IV.

1495.

Æt. 20.

Alfonso II.
abdicates the
crown of Na-
ples.

² Giannone, *Storia di Napoli. lib. xxix. v. iii. 385.*

C H A P. privately embarked his most valuable effects. With
IV. these he proceeded to the island of Sicily, and
1495. arrived at Mazara, a villa which had been given by
Æt. 20. Ferdinand of Spain, to his sister, the queen dowager of Naples, the mother-in-law of Alfonso; where, in the consciousness of being secure from the pursuit of his enemies, he consoled himself for the loss of his reputation, his country, and his crown.

Indignation
of his sub-
jects.

As Alfonso had, on many occasions, given undoubted proofs of his courage, and by his expulsion of the Turks from Otranto, in the year 1481, had obtained the character of one of the greatest generals of his time, his sudden flight astonished all Italy. By some it was conjectured, that he intended to proceed to Constantinople, to solicit the aid of the sultan Bajazet, who, as well as himself, was the avowed object of the resentment of the French monarch. With greater probability, others imagined, that he had been induced to this measure, by the consciousness of his own misconduct and cruelty, and the hope that his son Ferdinand, who had not yet attained the twenty-fourth year of his age, and had given no such causes of offence, would be enabled to conciliate the affections of the people; but the opinion of Commynes was, that he relinquished his crown through mere pusillanimity, for which he assigns as a reason, that—"no
" cruel

“cruel man was ever courageous;”^h and in this opinion he was probably followed by a great majority of those who reasoned on the subject.ⁱ No sooner, indeed, was the place of his retreat discovered, than the indignation of the Neapolitans was excited to the highest degree; and in particular

CHAP.

IV.

1495.

Æt. 20.

^h “Mon avis,” says honest Commynes, “fut toujours, que ce fut par vraye lascheté; car jamais homme cruel ne fut hardi.” *lib. vii. chap. 2. p. 205.*

ⁱ It was a common opinion (if, says Guicciardini, we may be allowed not altogether to despise such reports) that the ghost of Ferdinand, the late king, had appeared thrice to the chief surgeon of the court, and on his first visit had mildly requested, but afterwards commanded him with threats, to announce to his son Alfonso, that all attempts to resist the French arms were hopeless; and that it was destined, that after various misfortunes, and the loss of their kingdom, their family should become extinct. The ghost, it seems, explained also the reason of this calamity, which was intended as a just retribution for the enormities committed by the Aragonese against their subjects; and particularly for the cruelty of Ferdinand, in having, at the instigation of Alfonso, put to death, in the church of S. Leonardo, at Chiaia, near Naples, many of his barons, whom he had long detained in prison. There was, however, no need of a ghost to excite in the mind of Alfonso those terrors, which were the consequences of his guilt, and which, as Guicciardini informs us, with more probability, tormented his dreams with the spectres of those whom he had slaughtered, and with the ideas of an enraged populace dragging him to punishment. *Guicc. lib. i. v. i. p. 65, 66.*

C H A P. cular those distinguished scholars, who had celebrated his triumphs, and immortalized his name
IV. in their works, endeavoured to expiate their error,
1495. and prove their abhorrence of his misconduct, by
Æt. 20. the severest reprehensions. The following production of Sanazzaro, although not expressly applied to this event, in any edition of his works, sufficiently marks the subject on which it was written.

SONNET.

O thou, so long the Muses favourite theme,
 Expected tenant of the realms of light;
 Now sunk for ever in eternal night,
 Or recollected only to thy shame!
 From my polluted page thy hated name
 I blot; already on my loathing sight
 Too long obtruded; and to purer white
 Convert the destined record of thy fame.
 On thy triumphant deeds far other strains
 I hoped to raise; but thou defraud'st the song;
 Ill-omened bird, that shun'st the day's broad eye.
 Go then, and whilst the Muse thy praise disdains,
 Oblivion's flood shall sweep thy name along,
 And spotless and unstained the paper lie.

Antonio Tebaldeo has also adverted to this event in one of his sonnets, more remarkable for good sense than poetry: "If," says he, "a kingdom could have been defended by immense treasures, strong walls, powerful armies, or a commander of acknowledged talents, Alfonso might yet have maintained his sovereignty; but
 " he

" he who would reign in safety, ought to know, C H A P.
 " that it must be by the love of his subjects, and IV.
 " not by their dread of him ; and whoever adopts 1495.
 " a different maxim, will, in the end, discover his Æt. 20.
 " error." Then, rising to a higher strain, he ex-
 claims—" Eternal disgrace to Italy ! shall it then
 " be read, that so powerful a kingdom, could not
 " resist the French arms for a single month !
 " When Saguntum was attacked by Hannibal, she
 " defended herself to the last extremity ; for death
 " itself is sweet on behalf of a good prince."
 Whilst some were thus expressing their resent-
 ment against the fugitive monarch, others were
 equally earnest in soliciting Charles to hasten his
 approach. In the Latin verses of Marullus, Italy
 is represented as mourning his long delay ; and
 Greece, languishing under the scourge of barba-
 rians, expecting with impatience her promised
 deliverer.

Ferdinand II. began his reign in a manner the
 best calculated to secure himself from the dangers
 with which he was threatened. He set at liberty
 such of the nobles as his predecessor had im-
 prisoned ; he restored to every person the domains
 of which he had been arbitrarily deprived, and
 granted new and extensive privileges to the citi-
 zens of Naples. But, whatever might have been
 the effect of these conciliatory measures, if sooner
 adopted, they were now too late. The partisans
 of the French, among whom were most of the

Accession of
 Ferdinand II.
 who pre-
 pares for his
 defence.

CHAP. chief officers of the government, had pledged themselves too far to retreat; and the hourly expectation of the approach of the enemy, had a more powerful effect on the publick mind, than either the liberality or the remonstrances of the new sovereign. Ferdinand, however, collected together a body of about six thousand infantry, and fifty troops of cavalry, the principal command of which he intrusted to Giovanni Giacopo Trivulzio, an Italian *condottiero* of great eminence, and Nicolo Orsino, count of Pitigliano. With these, he proceeded to S. Germano, which, from its situation, between steep mountains on the one side, and impassable marshes on the other, with the river Garigliano in front, was esteemed one of the keys of the kingdom. At the same time, he also occupied, by a detachment, the pass of Cancella, and gave every indication of his resolution to make a vigorous defence.¹ Nor is it improbable, that if the shameless cowardice, or yet more shameless perfidy of some of his principal officers, had not frustrated his efforts, he might have made an honourable, if not an effectual resistance. At this juncture, Crinitus wrote a Latin ode, in which he deplores the want of unanimity among the states and people of Italy, and anticipates the approaching calamities of Naples.

Ah

¹ Guicciard. lib. i. v. i. p. 67.

Ah why the hated theme recall,
 Or bid me sing th' imperious Gaul?
 Already tears enough are shed ;
 Of slaughtered friends, enough have bled ;
 Yet, most disgraceful of our woes,
 We too, confederate with our foes ;
 Our wealth, our strength, to them resign ;
 And with their hostile standards join.

C H A P.
 IV.
 1495.
 Æt. 20

As thus extends the direful pest,
 We perish, by ourselves opprest ;
 And victims of a mutual hate,
 Each from the other, meet our fate.
 Meanwhile, his bands the conqueror calls,
 And points to Rome's defenceless walls ;
 And menaces the sacred band,
 That round her holy altars stand ;
 Whilst the fierce soldier, stained with blood,
 Hurls his proud spear in Tyber's flood.

O ancient worth, for ever fled !
 O manes of the illustrious dead !
 Through your pale bands what horror moves,
 Whilst Jove, the adverse cause approves !
 Hence what streams of blood shall flow,
 What ills shall rise, what fires shall glow ;
 Whilst Naples mourns to future times,
 The victim of another's crimes !
 And sinks the Aragonian star,
 Before the blazing god of war !
 'Tis he directs th' o'erwhelming flood,
 And scorns Italia's dastard brood.
 Trembling, I mark the dread decree :
 —Ah, hapless Naples, woe to thee !

In the mean time, Charles had quitted Rome,
 and proceeded on his route towards Naples, having
 received

C H A P. received information of the abdication of Alfonso,
IV. at the moment when he took his departure from
1495. the city. A short time afterwards, his captive,
Æt. 20. Zizim, terminated his unfortunate life, in conse-
 quence, as some have conjectured, of poison,
 administered to him by the orders of Alexander
 VI. before he was delivered up to the king; whilst
 others have asserted, that his death was occasioned
 by the inattention of Charles VIII. to his personal
 accommodation.^k On the arrival of the French,
 at

Charles enters the ter-
 ritories of
 Naples.

^k Sagredo, in his *Memoire istoriche de' monarchi Ottomani*, informs us, that Zizim lived only three days after he was consigned to Charles, and died at Terracina, having been poisoned by Alexander VI. who was induced to commit this crime, by the promise of an immense reward from the sultan Bajazet. "La cieca gentilità" says the historian, "adorò più idoli; a nostri giorni l'idolo universale è l'interesse," p. 97. Guicciardini also informs us, that he was poisoned at the instance of Alexander VI. but mentions Naples as the place of his death, in which last circumstance, Corio agrees with him; but accounts for it by the negligence of the French monarch—"per la indiligenza di Carlo." *Stor. Milan. par. vii. p. 939*. This latter account is also confirmed by the testimony of Burchard, who ascertains, not only the cause but the day of his death—15 *Februar, le fils du grand Turc, mourut a Naples—ex esu sive potu non convenienti natura sua & consueto*. On this subject, some curious documents remain, from which it appears, that the pope had applied to Bajazet, to assist him in repelling the attack of the French, and had represented to him that Charles intended to obtain the custody of Zizim, in order to promote his views upon the Ottoman state. In the reply of
 Bajazet

at Velletri, it was also discovered, that Cesar Bor- C H A P.
 gia, had eloped from the army and returned to IV.
 Rome: and although the pope protested, that he 1495.
 was a stranger to this proceeding, and offered to Æt. 20.
 the king any further assurances for his fidelity, it
 was the general opinion, that this event was only
 preparatory to a change of conduct in the pope,
 whenever his interest might seem to require it.

The march of the French army towards Naples,
 was marked by cruelty, rapine, and blood. The Ferdinand is
betrayed by
Trivulzio,
and escapes
to Ischia.
 fortresses of Montefortino and Monte S. Giovanni,
 for a short time retarded their progress; but the
 attack of their artillery was irresistible, and the
 soldiers employed in the defence of the places,
 were indiscriminately put to the sword. Apprized
 of the approach of the French, and apprehensive
 that

Bajazet (if so atrocious a production can be considered as
 authentick) he entreats that the pope will have the goodness
 to put his brother Zizim to death, in such way as he may
 judge best, and thereby translate his soul to another state,
 where he may enjoy greater repose. For this deliberate
 murder, Bajazet solemnly promises to pay to the pope
 three hundred thousand gold ducats to enable him to pur-
 chase a domain for his sons, and to allow the christians a
 free intercourse in his dominions. On another occasion
 Bajazet recommends to the pope a proper person to be
 honoured with the rank of a cardinal. Such was the fra-
 ternal intercourse which at this period subsisted between
 the Mahometan chief and the head of the Christian church!

CHAP. that his retreat to Naples might be cut off by a detachment under the command of the mareschal De

IV.

1495. Gies, whom Charles had despatched for that purpose,

Æt. 20. Ferdinand abandoned his camp at S. Germano, and retired to Capua, so closely pursued by Charles, that he left on the road a part of his artillery, and the intrenchments which he had quitted in the morning, were occupied by the French in the evening. On his arrival at Capua, he received information, that an insurrection had taken place in Naples, which required his personal interference. Committing, therefore, the chief command of his army to Trivulzio, he hastened to his capital, intending to return the following day; but no sooner had he left the place, than Trivulzio entered into a treaty with Charles, to surrender the city to him, and join his arms. This act of treachery, which stamps the character of this eminent soldier with indelible disgrace, decided the fate of the kingdom. The Neapolitan troops, throwing off all obedience, and eager to anticipate the plunder of the French, licentiously sacked the place; and the count of Pitigliano, and Virginio Orsino, who had, under a safe-conduct from the king, retired to Nola, were made prisoners.¹ On his return from Naples, Ferdinand

¹ "Celuy jour mesme, par maniere subtile,
 "Fut prins a Nosle le domp seigneur Virgile;
 "Semblablement le conte Petilenne,
 "Qui aux François euydoit faire de l'asne."

Vergier d'honneur.

Ferdinand was met, at the distance of two miles from Capua, by a deputation of the inhabitants, who apprized him of the calamities which they had suffered. The surrender of this place was followed by that of the other principal cities of the kingdom, which seemed ingloriously to vie with each other, which should first make its submission to the conqueror. Betrayed by his commanders, and abandoned by his subjects, Ferdinand retired to his residence at *Castelnuovo*; where, having assembled together many of the principal inhabitants of Naples, he explained to them the motives by which he had been actuated in assuming the royal authority, and lamented that his endeavours to remedy the effects of the severity and misconduct of his ancestors, had been prevented by the calamities of the house of Aragon. He then released them from the oath of fidelity and homage which they had so lately taken to him as their sovereign, and gave them his permission to negotiate with the French monarch, for their safety and privileges, in such manner as might seem expedient to them. These sentiments were not heard by the populace without compassion; but all hopes of resisting the approaching torrent, had now vanished; and Ferdinand, being informed that the insurgents in the city had attacked his palace, and being also apprehensive that attempts would be made to seize his person, and deliver him a prisoner to Charles, privately withdrew from the castle, and, accompanied by his uncle Federigo, the queen dowager of Naples,

C H A P.
IV.
1495.
Æt. 20.

C H A. P. Naples, widow of Ferdinand I. and her daughter

IV. Joanna, effected his retreat to the harbour, whence

1495. he proceeded to the Island of Ischia, at the distance

Æt. 20. of about thirty miles from Naples. Adversity is the natural parent of resignation, and as the prospect of his native place vanished from his sight, the fugitive monarch was frequently heard to repeat with the Psalmist, "Unless God keep the city, the vigils of the keepers are vain."^m

On his arrival at Ischia, an incident occurred which showed that, notwithstanding his misfortunes, Ferdinand was not devoid either of courage or promptitude. On his demanding admission for himself and his followers into the castle, his lieutenant, Giusto della Candina, who had already held secret intelligence with the French, refused to receive them within the walls. A parley took place, in which Candina at length consented that the king should enter alone; probably with an intention of securing his person. The gates were accordingly opened to him; but the lieutenant no sooner made his appearance, than the king, drawing a carbine from beneath his cloak, shot him dead upon the spot. The soldiers, alarmed at the fate of their commander, and awed by the courage of the king, submitted to his authority; and his

^m — " Nisi dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam." v. *Guicciard, Hb. i. l. 70.*

his followers immediately possessed themselves of the garrison.

IV.

1495.

On the twenty-second day of February, 1495, Charles VIII. entered the city of Naples, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the inhabitants.^a On this occasion, it was observed, that the adherents and favourites of the Aragonese family, who had existed by their liberality, and been exalted by their kindness, were the first to express their attachment to the new sovereign.* But similar situations have, in all countries, produced similar instances of ingratitude; and it can occasion no surprise, that the creatures of a court or a faction, who are actuated by no motives but those of their own interest, should, under every change, adhere to the same rule of conduct. Before his departure, Ferdinand had committed the command of the *Castel-nuovo* to Alfonso Davalos, marquis of Pescara; who, amidst the defection of all the rest of the Neapolitan nobility, continued to defend the place

Charles VIII. enters the city of Naples, and assumes the government of the kingdom.

^a Guicciard. lib. i. 1. 71. *Mém. de Commines*, liv. vi. chap. 13.

* *Vergier d'honneur*. Muratori states the number of his army on his entering Naples, at thirty thousand men; independent of the troops he had left in the Tuscan fortresses, in the states of the church, and the other cities of the Neapolitan state. *Annali*. vol. ix. p. 579.

CHAP. place with unshaken fidelity ; and Charles, there-
 IV. fore, after visiting the cathedral, was conducted to
 1495. his apartments in *Castel-Capitano*, the ancient resi-
 20. dence of his ancestors of the house of Anjou.
 Here he received the homage of his new subjects.
 The Neapolitan barons expressed to him a uni-
 form obedience. The remoter cities and provinces
 sent deputations to acknowledge their submission
 to his authority ; and, in the course of thirteen
 days from the time of his departure from Rome,
 Charles had the satisfaction of finding himself the
 acknowledged sovereign of the kingdom of Naples.

Contempora-
 ry opinions
 on that event.

The intelligence of this important event was
 received with very different sensations, by the
 different states of Italy. In Florence, whither the
 king had sent the new cardinal Brissonet, to solicit
 the pecuniary aid of the government, it was cele-
 brated with formal processions and ostensible re-
 joicings. Whatever were the feelings of Alexander
 VI. he betrayed no external symptoms of dis-
 satisfaction ; but contented himself with sarcasti-
 cally observing, *that the French had overrun Italy*
with wooden spurs, and conquered it with chalk ;
 alluding to a custom prevalent among their officers,
 who, when riding out for their amusement, used
 only pointed wood instead of spurs ; and to the
 practice of their foragers, who marked with chalk
 such houses as were fixed upon for the habitations
 of

of the soldiery.^p The pusillanimous conduct of CHAP.
the Italian states received, however, a severer IV.
reprehension from the pen of Antonio Tebaldeo; 1495.
who, with honest indignation, has thus recorded Et. 20.
the degradation of his country :

SONNET.

Not with so prompt a foot fierce Hannibal
Rushed o'er thy fields ; nor e'er amid th' alarms
Of Gothick fury and barbarian arms,
Didst thou so tame and unresisting fall.
Ah whence these terrours, that thy sons appal,
Inglorious Italy ! whilst forward springs
The Gallick cock, and claps his conquering wings :
Nor hears the voice of answering vengeance call ?
Just is thy doom : for now that honoured earth,
That gave to Scipio and Camillus birth,
Sardanapalus, Midas, Crassus claim.
Once, in thy better days, a cackling goose,
From the Tarpeian rock could scare thy foes ;
—Now eagles, serpents, lions—all are tame,^q

But

^p Nardi, *Vita di Antonio Giacomino Tebalдини Malaspini*,
p. 18. Fior. 1597.

^q This rude production of a contemporary poet may
at least serve to call to recollection, the elegant sonnet of
Vincenzo Filicaja, written about two centuries afterwards,
during the war of the Spanish succession, when the French
and the Imperialists made Italy once more the theatre of
their hostilities.

SONNET.

Italia ! thou to whom in evil hour,
The fatal boon of beauty nature gave,

Yet

CHAP. . . But although Charles VIII. had thus succeeded
 IV. in his enterprise against the kingdom of Naples,
 1495. much yet remained to be done to secure his acqui-
 Rt. 20. sitions. The *Castel-nuovo*, and *Castello dell'Uovo*,
 Charles reduc- both fortresses of uncommon strength, yet retained
 ces the for- their allegiance to their former sovereign. The
 tresses of Na- first attack of the French artillery was upon the
 ples. *Castel-nuovo* which surrendered in a few days.
 The *Castello dell'Uovo* made a longer resistance ;
 but the impetuous cannonading of the French,
 who discharged three hundred balls against it in
 the space of three hours, at length reduced the
 garrison to the necessity of a capitulation, by which
 they were suffered to depart in safety, on the
 thirteenth day of March. The valuable effects
 contained in these fortresses, were distributed by
 the king amongst his followers, without disci-
 mination ;

Yet on thy front the sentence did engrave,
 That ceaseless woe should be thy only dower !
 Ah were that beauty less, or more thy power !
 That he who now compels thee to his arms,
 Might gaze with cold indifference on thy charms,
 Or tremble at thine eye's indignant lower !
 Then shouldst thou not observe, in glittering line,
 From the high Alps embattled throngs descend,
 And Gallick herds pollute thy Po's clear wave ;
 Nor, whilst encompassed close by spears not thine,
 Shouldst thou by foreign hands thy rights defend,
 Conqu'ring or conquer'd, ever more a slave.

^a *Vergier d'honneur,*

mination; it having been sufficient to ask, in order to obtain a share of the spoil.^{*}

CHAP.

IV.

1498.

Nor was Charles yet at rest in his new possessions. Whatever might be his pretensions to the crown, the title by which he immediately held it, was his sword; and Ferdinand, by relinquishing his dominions only to a superiour force, was justified in attempting their recovery, whenever an occasion should present itself. Aware of these circumstances, Charles became desirous of entering into a negotiation for the purpose of obtaining from Ferdinand a voluntary resignation of his rights. He therefore addressed a letter to Federigo, uncle to the king, then at Ischia, requesting an interview with him at Naples, and offering four hostages for his return. Federigo accordingly proceeded to Naples, where Charles proposed, that, if the king his nephew would relinquish his crown, he would grant him a territory in France, with a considerable revenue, and would also honourably provide for Federigo, and the rest of the family of Aragon. In reply to this proposition, Federigo did not hesitate to assure the king, that he was sufficiently acquainted with the sentiments of his nephew, to know that he would assent to no conditions that would deprive him of his crown, or

Art. 20.

Charles endeavours to obtain from Ferdinand a surrender of his rights.

remove

^{*} "Il les donna," says Commynes, "a ceux qui les demandoyent." *Mem. liv. vii. ch. 13.*

CHAP. remove him from his subjects. That if these
 IV. preliminaries could be conceded, he should be
 1495. ready to enter into further negotiations, but that
 20. Ferdinand was determined either to live or die
 a king. After a second interview, equally fruit-
 less, though conducted with circumstances of
 apparent respect and civility, Federigo took his
 departure, and returned to announce the result of
 his voyage to his nephew, who yet remained at
 Ischia to wait the issue of it.*

Conduct of
 Charles at
 Naples.

Of the manner in which Charles employed his
 time during his residence at Naples, an exact diary
 has been preserved by his faithful attendant, André
 de la Vigne. But the observation of this humble
 annalist has seldom penetrated beyond the exter-
 nal ceremonies and common occurrences of the
 day. We may, however, discover, that the king
 displayed a rigid punctuality in paying his devo-
 tions every morning in some of the churches of
 Naples, and that he occasionally diversified his
 amusements, by an excursion to *Poggio Reale*,^a a
 seat

* Guicciard. lib. i. v. i. p. 84.

^a "Il alloit quelquefois," says Commines, translating the appellation into French, "au Mont imperiale:" which has led his commentator, Denis Sauvage, to conjecture, that he went "en manteau imperiale, pour venir a ce qu'aucuns disent qu'il fut couronné pour empereur de Constantinople." Such is the authority on which a Historiographer

seat of the Neapolitan sovereigns, situated at a small distance from the city. The king appears also to have been highly delighted with the wonderful display of courage and agility exhibited by a daughter of the dutchess of Melfi; who, in the presence of her mother, rode her courser at full speed, and afterwards went through the various exercises of a cavalier; insomuch, that the annalist assures us, it was a miracle to see a young lady perform such "outrageous feats;" nor can he believe that the warlike dames who opposed the Grecians, at the siege of Troy, could have performed one hundredth part of what was then represented. On the twenty-third day of April a solemn tournament was proclaimed; which was daily renewed till the first of May; and was attended by many distinguished persons, as well from Florence as other parts of Italy, and honoured by the presence of the ladies of Naples.* The royal hand was however

C H A P.
IV.
1495
Æt. 20.

riographer *du tres Chrétien Roi, Henri II.* would imply the pretensions of the French monarchs to the empire of the east! *Mem. de Com. lib. vii. chap. xiv.* This palace was built by Alfonso, duke of Calabria, on his return from his successful expedition against the Turks at Otranto.

* " Et apres dîner alla le roy aux lices, ou se devoient faire les joustes, et la trouva le roy plusieurs grans seigneurs, tant de Florence que d'Italie, & des dames du pays, especiellement de Napples: & furent faites les dictes joustes en une grant rue, pres le chasteau-nouve, devant une eglise, fondée des rois de Cecille; (Sicily)
" c'est

CHAPTER, however employed with more safety, if not with more efficacy, in touching those affected with the evil, who sought, in the condescension of the king, a remedy for their sufferings. Thus prone have the sovereigns of the world generally been, to disregard those calamities which they might have alleviated, and to attempt the relief of those which are beyond their power to cure. On paying his devotions in the church of St. Januarius, the head of the martyr was exhibited to him, and the vessel produced which contained a portion of his blood, which appeared consolidated, like a stone; but on being touched by the king with a silver wand, and placed on the altar before the head of the saint, it began to dissolve, grow warm, and boil, to the astonishment of Charles and his attendants, who were assured that this blood was privy to the secrets of heaven, and never dissolved but at the prayers of the just.*

The exiled family obtain the assistance of Ferdinand of Spain.

Whilst the French monarch was thus consuming, in the most abject superstition, or the most puerile amusements, that time which he ought to have devoted to the regulation and government

"c'est a sçavoir de ceulx d'Anjou. Et durerent les dictes joustes des le Mecedre, xxiii. jour d'Avril, jusques au premier jour de Mai. Et se nommerent les tenans du dedans des dictes joustes *Chastillon et Bourdillon*." *Verg. d'Honneur*.

* *Vergier d'Honneur*.

vernment of his newly acquired dominions, Ferdinand had proceeded from the island of Ischia to Sicily, to consult with his father Alfonso, on the most likely measures for restoring the fortunes of the family. He found him at Messina, in a convent, surrounded by monks, passing his days in abstinence, and his nights in prayer. The result of their deliberations was such as appeared likely to answer the immediate purpose for which they were intended, the expulsion of the French from the kingdom of Naples; but in dangerous situations, there is nothing so much to be apprehended as the recurring to expedients which are worse than the existing evil; and a serious consideration would have shown them, that of all the means of assistance, the support and interference of Ferdinand of Spain was the most to be deprecated. The motives by which they were induced to have recourse to his protection, are not indeed difficult to be discovered. Ferdinand was already possessed of the island of Sicily; * and the vicinity of so powerful a neighbour as the French monarch, who was avowedly meditating fresh conquests, could

C H A P.

IV.

1495.

A. 20.

not

* Dr. Robertson is mistaken in asserting that Ferdinand "acquired the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, by violating the faith of treaties, and disregarding the ties of blood." *Hist. of Charles V. book i.* Ferdinand having succeeded to the undisputed sovereignty of Sicily, on the death of his father John, king of Aragon and Sicily, the brother of Alfonso I.

CHAP. not fail to excite in his mind apprehensions for its ultimate safety ; whilst the near relationship, that

IV. subsisted between him and the royal house of Naples, might be supposed to induce him to take a personal interest in their misfortunes. But whilst the exiled and exiled monarchs were thus flattering themselves with the advantages to be derived from his support, they ought also to have considered, that this ambitious and polittick prince was the unquestionable legitimate heir of Alfonso I. king of Aragon, Sicily, and Naples ; and that he might naturally regard as a derogation of his hereditary rights, the bequest of the crown of Naples by Alfonso, to his illegitimate son Ferdinand I. the grandfather of its last possessor. It is true he had not only long acquiesced in this separation of the dominions of his house, but had married his sister to his cousin Ferdinand I. But as the fortunes of the Neapolitan branch declined, the strength and resources of the Spanish house had increased, and it might therefore justly have been suspected, that its representative might now assert his claims, which had been suffered to remain so long dormant, not perhaps from his moderation, but from his inability to enforce them. These obvious suggestions were however overlooked, or disregarded, in the panick occasioned by the invasion of the French ; and the fatal resolution was adopted of applying to Ferdinand of Spain for his assistance. Bernardo Bernaudo, secretary to the king of Naples, was the ambassador employed on this occasion.

sion. He was received with great attention. The Spanish monarch had not observed with indifference the progress of the French arms in Italy, but had already intimated to Charles, that he should consider his attack on the kingdom of Naples as an act of hostility against himself. He had indeed engaged by a solemn oath not to interfere in this contest; but on examining the purport of this engagement it was discovered, that it contained a reservation of the rights of the church, which it was contended would be materially affected by the proceedings of Charles VIII. and besides, the restriction against the interference of the Spanish monarch was on condition, that Charles was rightfully entitled to the crown of Naples; a proposition which it was as easy to deny as to assert. A powerful armament was therefore provided, the command of which was given to Gonzalvo Fernandez, a native of Cordova, of the family of Aguilar, a commander of acknowledged talents, courage, and experience; who immediately repaired to Sicily, to be in readiness to act as circumstances might require; and, by his subsequent victories, converted the appellation of *The great Captain*, originally used by his countrymen merely to designate his authority, into a title which has ever since been attached to his name, as expressive of his superiour abilities and virtues.

Nor was the progress of the French arms regarded without jealousy and dread by the other
state●

CHAP.

IV.

1495.

Æt. 29.

C H A P. states of Italy ; and particularly by the person who
 IV. had been the first and most active promoter of the
 1495. enterprise, the restless Lodovico Sforza. The ex-
 Æt. 20. traordinary talents of this misguided politician, like
 League be- sharp implements in the hands of an awkward
 tween the artificer, not only defeated his intended purpose,
 Italian states for opposing the French. but in the result generally proved injurious to him-
 self. Could he have been contented with the rank
 and influence which he had acquired among the
 states of Italy, without soliciting the interference
 of the French ; or, after the arrival and success of
 Charles VIII. had he maintained his fidelity and
 assisted the king in securing his new acquisitions,
 and returning in safety beyond the Alps ; in either
 case, he might, in all probability, have enjoyed
 without interruption his ill-acquired authority ;
 but there seems to exist in some persons such a
 propensity to evil, as induces them to overlook the
 plainest dictates of their own interest, if they hap-
 pen to be, as they generally are, in unison with
 morality and good faith. Even before the arrival
 of Charles at Naples, Lodovico had entered into
 negotiations with the senate of Venice, for inter-
 cepting and cutting him off on his return to France ;
 and on the last day of March, 1495, a league was
 concluded at Venice, among the Italian states,
 under the specious pretext of the defence of their
 dominions, and the protection of christendom
 against the Turks, but in fact to oppose the
 French

French monarch on his return from Naples.^y CHAP.
 This combination, which was called the holy IV.
 league, the most formidable that Europe had then 1495.
 seen, was acceded to, not only by the states of Et 20.
 Venice, and of Milan, but by Alexander VI. who
 eagerly availed himself of any opportunity that
 might protect him against the dreaded power of
 the French. The emperor elect, Maximilian,
 and Ferdinand of Spain, were also parties to the
 convention ; and those ideas of a balance of power,
 by which the Italians had long regulated their
 respective governments, were thus extended to the
 countries

^y Machiavelli thus animadverts on the conduct of Lodovico, on this occasion, in his first *Decennale* :

- “ Conobbe allor la sua stultitia certa ;
 “ E dubitando cader nella fossa
 “ Che con tanto sudor s’havea aperta,
 “ Nè li bastando sua natural possa,
 “ Fece quel Duca, per salvare il tutto,
 “ Co’l Papa, Imperio, e Marco, testa grossa.”

It is amusing to observe with what simplicity Philip de Commines, who was then ambassadour of the French king at Venice, relates the manner in which he was imposed upon by the artifices of the Venetian Doge and senators, who flattered him with personal attentions, and assurances of amity, till this formidable league, which he had the mortification to see proclaimed with extraordinary magnificence at Venice, was fully completed. This narration, which occupies the 15th chapter of his seventh book, is highly interesting, and deserves an attentive perusal.

C H A P. countries beyond the Alps.* But whilst the ostensible views of this powerful combination were industriously laid before the world, it was secretly proposed, that they should unite their forces in devesting Charles VIII. of the conquest which he had so easily obtained. To this end it was agreed that the Spanish monarch should assist his relations of the house of Aragon, in the recovery of their dominions; that the Venetians should send a powerful naval armament to occupy the ports of the kingdom of Naples; and that Lodovico Sforza should oppose the arrival of further succours to the French through the states of Milan. It was also stipulated, that considerable sums of money should be advanced to Maximilian and Ferdinand of Spain, to enable them to carry an effective war into the provinces of France. To the completion of this league, the concurrence of the other states of Italy was highly desirable; but the duke of Ferrara, with true Italian policy, whilst he permitted his son Alfonso to join the allies at the head of a body of horse, as a stipendiary to the duke of Milan, professed his determination to adhere to his former engagements; and the Florentines, well aware that, in case of hostilities, they would be the first to experience the resentment of the French monarch, and not less jealous of the power of the Venetians

* This treaty is preserved in *Liturg, Codex Italiae diplomaticus*, tom. i. p. 111.

Venetians than of the success of the French, CHAP.
refused to become parties to the convention. ^a IV.

1495.

The exultation which the Neapolitans had expressed on the arrival of a new sovereign, was not of long continuance. Notwithstanding the privileges and exemptions granted by Charles to particular cities, which had been the first to acknowledge his authority, the people soon perceived their error, in exchanging the well regulated, though severe government of the house of Aragon, for the licentious misrule of the French. The great barons of the realm, instead of receiving those favours which they expected, as the reward of their ready submission, were deprived of their offices and their domains, which, with the exception of two or three instances, were conferred by Charles, with indiscriminate liberality, upon his ablest generals, and his most worthless dependants. ^b The French soldiery, dispersed through different parts of the country, were restrained by no considerations of either humanity, honour, or decency; and the Italian writers have complained, that even the sanctuaries

Æt. 30.

Dissatisfaction of the Neapolitans with Charles VIII.

^a Guicciard. *Storia d'Ital. lib. ii.* 1. 89.

^b "Tous états et offices" says Commynes, "furent donnés aux François, à deux ou trois." I suspect that Giannone has misunderstood this passage, when he says "Tutte le autorità, e carichi furono conferiti a due, o tre Franzesi." *Storia di Napoli lib. xxix. chap. 2.*

CHAP. tuaries of religious chastity were not always a sufficient protection against their brutal violence. ^c Under these circumstances it can occasion no surprise, that the Neapolitans should have conceived a speedy aversion to their new governours; and Guicciardini might with safety have rested their dissatisfaction on the general principles of human nature, without seeking for it in the levity and instability of the people. ^d That the indications of this disposition were cautiously expressed under the immediate pressure of a military government, may well be conceived; yet the voice of complaint was not wholly silent; and the following lines of Crinitus, addressed to Bernardo Caraffa, one of the chief nobility of Naples, may be considered as the expression of a national sentiment:

ODE.

^c *Corio, Storia di Milano. parte vii. p. 939. Benedetti, Fatto d'arme sul Tarro. p. 9. b.*

^d “Tale è la natura de’ popoli, inclinata a sperare più di quel che si debbe, ed a tollerare manco di quel che è necessario, e ad avere sempre in fastidio le cose presenti; e specialmente degli habitatori del regno di Napoli, i quali, tra tutti i popoli d’ Italia, sono notati di instabilità, e di cupidità di cose nuove.” *Guicciard. lib. ii. v. i. p. 90.*

For a very just account of the general character of the French in their conquests, v. *Robertson’s History of Scotland, b. ii. vol. i. p. 128.*

ODE.

CHAP.

IV.

1495.

Æt. 20.

Thy sad lament, my friend, forbear;
Nor longer pour the fruitless tear.
Enough to patriot sorrows given,
Think not to change the doom of heaven.

We feel the fates, and own their sway,
Whilst NAPLES sinks, a hapless prey;
Her iron bondage doomed to mourn,
Till that auspicious hour return,

When, to his native soil restored,
She hails again her former lord;
Him who recalls her ancient fame,
And vindicates her honoured name.

Yet when that happier dawn shall rise,
My mortal vision ill descries;
And dubious is the voice divine,
Responsive from Apollo's shrine.

But, hark! along the sounding poles,
Signal of hope, the thunder rolls;
And soon the avenging bolt shall fall
That checks the fury of the GAUL.

No sooner did Charles receive information of the formidable league, so unexpectedly formed between the princes of Italy and the other European states, than he instantly became sensible of the dangers of his situation, and was no less impatient to quit his newly acquired dominions, and return to France, than he had lately been to possess himself of the crown of Naples. He now perceived that the treaties, which he had with so much

Coronation
of Charles
VIII. at Na-
ples.

CHAP. IV. precaution and by so many sacrifices, concluded with the European sovereigns, had served no other purpose than to lead him into a snare, from which he could not expect to extricate himself without great difficulty. The desertion of Lodovico Sforza convinced him that no reliance was to be placed upon his Italian allies, and that his only hopes of safety must rest on the courage of his army, in forcing his way through the hostile states of Italy. Critical, however, as his situation might be, he was unwilling to quit the city of Naples without the ceremony of a coronation. With this view he despatched an envoy to the pope, to endeavour, by the assurance of his protection and favour, to detach him from his new allies, and induce him to grant the bull of investiture. But Alexander, who had refused to assent to his request, when he occupied Rome at the head of a victorious army, was not likely, after the alliances which had lately been formed, to comply with his wishes. * This dis-
appointment

* Summonte, *Storia di Napoli. lib. vi. p. 517. (581)* and after him Giannone, (*lib. xxix. cap. ii. p. 389*) positively assert, that the pope, alarmed by the threats of the king, expedited to him the bull of investiture, and appointed a legate, who performed the office of coronation. It is, however, highly probable, that these two judicious and national historians, have on this occasion fallen into an error. Benedetti, in his *Fatto d'arme sul Tarro*, asserts that Alexander positively refused to comply with the request of the king; in consequence of which Charles, forgetting his expedition

appointment did not, however, deter Charles from displaying to the Neapolitans, before his departure a splendid pageant. On the twelfth day of May, the princes and chief nobility, both of France and Naples, and the great barons from other parts of Italy, assembled at *Poggio Imperiale*, and accompanied the king in a solemn procession into the city of Naples, where he made his publick entry, as king of France, Sicily, and Jerusalem. He was clad in an imperial mantle; the crown on his head; in his right hand he held the ball of gold, the proud symbol of universal empire; in his left the sceptre. The canopy was supported by some of the first nobility of Naples. The duke de Mompensier appeared as lieutenant general, and viceroy of the kingdom. Among those who were habited in

C M A P.

IV.

1495.

EA 20.

royal

expedition to Jerusalem, threatened to overturn the governments of Italy, and the dominion of the pope, p. 9. The negative opinion is also strongly confirmed by the French annalists. Commines coldly informs us that the king was crowned, *liv. vii. chap. 14*; and André de la Vigne, although he minutely describes the ceremony in which Charles swore to maintain the rights of the people, and enumerates the chief of the French nobility who were present on that occasion, neither notices the papal investiture, nor even asserts that any coronation took place. The subsequent flight of Alexander, on the second visit of the king to Rome, may also be admitted as an additional proof, that he had not complied with the wishes of the king in granting his sanction for the coronation.

CHAP. royal mantles, as related to the king, were Philip
 IV. de Bresse, afterwards duke of Savoy, Monsieur
 1495. de Foix, Monsieur de Luxemburg, and Monsieur
 Et 26. de Vendosme. As he entered the city, he was
 met by great numbers of the nobility and chief
 inhabitants, with their wives, who presented to
 him their children, from the age of eight to six-
 teen, requesting that he would grant them the
 order of knighthood, with which he readily com-
 plied. Jean Darnay performed on this occasion
 the office of champion; he was dressed in complete
 armour, and was mounted on a horse richly capar-
 isoned. If we may believe de la Vigne, the
 citizens of Naples confessed they had never before
 beheld so accomplished a cavalier. Proceeding to the
 cathedral, the king approached the great altar, where
 he promised, under the sanction of a solemn oath,
 to maintain the rights of his new subjects, and
 was gratified by the temporary assurances of their
 loyalty and allegiance. On this occasion the cele-
 brated Pontano is said to have addressed the king,
 as the orator of the people of Naples; and the
 tenour of his discourse, which was supposed to
 inculcate the unfortunate monarchs of the house of
 Aragon, by whom he had been uniformly favoured
 and protected, has stained his character with the
 indelible blot of ingratitude. As this oration has
 not reached the present times, it is not easy to
 determine how far the accusation against him is
 well founded; but the circumstance, if true, is
 itself unfavourable to the fame of the Neapolitan
 scholar;

scholar; and it may readily be inferred, that if he undertook an office so inconsistent with his own honour, he would not display much delicacy in its execution. ^f

C. H. & P.

IV.

1493.

Art. 20.

But although Charles did not think proper any longer to hazard his own person, in the defence of his newly acquired dominions, he judged it expedient to leave a part of his troops, under the command of his most able generals, in possession of the capital, and of the fortresses of the kingdom; with assurances, that he would not only supply them with the necessary means of defence, but would shortly return into Italy, at the head of a more

Charles re-
solves to re-
turn to
France.

^f It was most probably also on this occasion, that Raffaello Brandolini, called *Lippo Brandolini il giovane*, made a panegyrick oration before the king, which he immediately turned into verse; on which Charles is said to have exclaimed, *Magnus orator, summus poeta*. It is certain that the monarch conferred on Raffaello a pension of one hundred crowns, and gave him an honourable diploma, which bears date at Castel Capuano, the 18th May, 1495; in which he assigns as a reason for his bounty, the services which Raffaello had rendered, and might yet render to the king, and that he might be enabled to pursue his studies to advantage. In this diploma he is said to have been *cæcus a nativitate*; but Mazzuchelli conjectures from his appellation of Lippo, that he was not born blind. v. *Mazz. Scrittori d' Italia*, vol. vi. p. 2018. tit. *Brandolini*. It is indeed not improbable that Brandolini, and not Pontano, made the oration before the king on his coronation at Naples.

CHAP. more powerful army. Of all the measures adopted

IV. by Charles on this expedition, and which Com-

1495. mines uniformly represents as a series of errors

Æt. 20. and absurdities, this, upon which he makes no

comment, was the most imprudent, and proved

in the event the most destructive. Had he con-

centrated his strength in Naples, and endeavoured

to obtain the speediest reinforcements, either by

the passes of the Alps, or by means of his fleet,

it would have given confidence and security to his

adherents, and enabled him to defend himself

against the meditated attack. Or, had he deter-

mined to relinquish his conquests as untenable, he

might have returned at the head of his troops, if

not with honour, at least with safety, to his own

dominions; but by dividing his forces, he exposed

his own person to the danger of an attack from

the superiour numbers of his enemies, which had

nearly proved fatal to him, and left the remainder

of his troops to support a hopeless and destructive

contest with the arms of the allies, and the parti-

sans of the house of Aragon. On quitting the

capital, he intrusted the command of his forces to

the duke de Mompensier; who, notwithstanding

his indolence, or his levity, had served his master

on all occasions with courage and fidelity. * D'Au-

bigny,

* "Bon chevalier et hardy," says Commynes, "mais
"peu sage. Il ne se levoit qu'il ne fût midi."

Mem. liv. viii, chap. i. p. 217.

bigny, who had been recompensed for his labours with the states of Acri and Squillazzo, and the title of grand constable of Naples, was appointed to the chief command in Calabria. The strong holds of the kingdom were intrusted by Charles to his most experienced commanders. Of the Italian nobility, the family of Colonna availed themselves the most effectually of his bounty, and were appointed to the chief offices of the state; and it was supposed to be at their request, that Charles retained as prisoners the count of Pitigliano and Virginio Orsino, the chiefs of the rival family of that name, who had been arrested whilst under the sanction of a safe conduct from the king. These favours did not, however, secure the fidelity of his Roman allies, who had already entered into a secret correspondence with his enemies, and on his departure were the first to oppose his authority; not, perhaps, as Commynes asserts, without cause; but because they were aware that the king, by the imprudent division of his forces, had deprived that authority of its necessary support.^a

On the twentieth day of May, 1495, Charles quitted Naples, and proceeded directly towards Rome. He was accompanied by Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, at the head of one hundred lances, three

Proceeds
with his
army
through the
Roman
territories,

^a *Mem. de Commynes, liv. viii. chap. i. p. 217, 218.*

CHAP. three hundred Swiss infantry, one thousand French,
 IV. and an equal number of Gascons. Commencement
 1495. estimates his force at nine thousand men; all of
 Et. 30. whom, as he informs us, were young and in high
 spirits, fully persuaded that they should meet with
 no opponents able to take the field against them.
 Alexander VI. was too sensible of the offences
 which he had committed, in joining the alliance,
 and refusing the bull of investiture, to trust for his
 safety to the assurances of the king; and, being
 apprized of his approach, quitted the city two days
 before the arrival of the French, and fled to Or-
 vieto, leaving the cardinal S. Anastasio, as his legate,
 to receive the French monarch with due honour.
 The rest of the college of cardinals accompanied
 the pope; who was also escorted by two hundred
 men at arms, one thousand light horse, and three
 thousand infantry.¹ Charles, after paying his de-
 votions at the great altar of St. Peters,² speedily
 quitted the city without offering any violence to the
 inhabitants, and directed his course towards Vi-
 terbo; in consequence of which the pope left
 Orvieto

¹ Guicciard. lib. ii. v. i. p. 94.

² "Lundy premier de Juing le roy entra dedans
 " Romme, et fut logé au palais du cardinal Sainct Clement,
 " * * * et incontinent qu'il fut a Romme, ainsi que bon
 " et loyal catholique, il alla en l'eglise de Monsieur Sainct
 " Pierre de Romme, faire ses offrandes." &c.

Vergier d'Honneur.

Orvieto, and passed on to Perugia, whence it was his intention, if the king approached, to retire to Ancona, and take shipping for some other part of Italy.

CHAP.

IV.

1495.

A. D. 99.

Charles arrived at Viterbo, on the fifth day of June, and remained there until the eighth day of the same month, during which time he availed himself of the opportunity of seeing the body of S. Rosa, which the priests showed him in real flesh and blood, assuring him, she was only in a trance.^k He here received intelligence that his advanced guard had met with some resistance at Toscanella, a fortified town belonging to the pope, in consequence of which they had taken the place by storm, and plundered it, with the slaughter of about six hundred of the inhabitants; an event which is said to have given him great dissatisfaction; as he was desirous of passing through the territories of the church in as pacifick a manner as possible.

Arrives at
Viterbo.

On the approach of the king towards Siena, he was met by a deputation of the chief inhabitants, who conducted him into the city; where he was received

Arrives at
Siena.

^k " Et apres la grant messe alla veoir le corps de ma-
" dame Sainte Rose, qui repose au dit Viterbe, en chair
" et en os, et n'est que transie."

Vergier d'Honneur.

CHAP. received with great honour, and remained for several days, attracted by the charms of female beauty, and gratified by the sumptuous banquets; prepared for him. He had here an interview with his ambassador, Philip de Commines, then just arrived from Venice; whom he questioned with apparent jocularity, but perhaps not without real anxiety, as to the preparations made for opposing his return.¹ The answer of Commines was not calculated to allay his apprehensions. He assured the king that he had been informed by the senate, that the united army of the Venetians and the duke of Milan, would amount to forty thousand men; but that they were intended to act only on the defensive, and would not pass the river Oglio, unless the king should attack the states of Milan. Commines availed himself of this opportunity to entreat the king to hasten his departure, before his enemies could have assembled their forces, or receive succours from the emperor elect, who was reported to be raising considerable levies; but Charles suffered himself to be detained by a negotiation with the deputies of Florence, who met him at Siena, and solicited, with the utmost eagerness, the restoration of Pisa, offering not only to pay the contribution stipulated in the treaty, but to advance him seventy thousand ducats as a loan, and to despatch their *Condottiero*, Francesco Secco, with three

¹ *Commines*, liv. viii. chap. ii. p. 218.

three hundred men at arms, and two thousand infantry, to attend him, until his arrival at Asti. The more prudent part of his followers earnestly advised the king to accede to so advantageous a proposal; but the prince de Ligny, a young man, his cousin and favourite, having observed, that it would be a pity to deliver up the people of Pisa into the power of their tyrants, Charles, acting under the impulse of his feelings, and disregarding at once his interest and his oath, rejected the offer.^m In like opposition to the advice of his most judicious counsellors, but at the request of some of the inhabitants of Siena, he appointed the prince de Ligny, governour of that place; who deputed his authority to Monsieur de Villeneuve as his lieutenant, with whom the king left an escort of three hundred men; thereby diminishing his forces at this critical juncture, without the possibility of deriving from it the slightest advantage. In fact the governour and his attendants were expelled the city in less than a month from his departure.ⁿ

C.H.A.P.
IV.
1495.
Et. 20.

It appears to have been the intention of Charles to have proceeded from Siena to Florence; for which purpose, he advanced as far as Campana, a small town at no great distance from that city,^o but

Interview
with Savena-
rola.

^m *Mem. de Communes*, liv. viii. chap. ii. p. 220.

ⁿ *Ibid.*

^o *André de la Vigne, Vergier d'Honneur.*

C H A P. but on his arrival there, he found, that although
IV. the Florentines had made preparations to receive
 1495. him with due honour, they had collected a consi-
 Et. 20. derable number of troops, and had filled the city
 with armed men. These precautions were per-
 haps not so much to be attributed to their appre-
 hensions from the king, as to their dread of the
 restoration of the authority of the Medici. They
 were already apprized that Piero had attached him-
 self to the cause of the French, and that he was then
 actually in the camp;^p and they justly feared, that
 if he were admitted within the walls, he might
 avail himself of their assistance to regain his former
 ascendancy. Unwilling to engage in a contest,
 Charles changed his intentions, and directed his
 course towards Pisa. In his route he passed through
 the town of Poggelbonza, where he had an inter-
 view with the monk Savonarola, who had been
 sent by the Florentines, for the express purpose of
 prevalling upon him to deliver up to them the city
 of Pisa, and the other fortified places of Tuscany,
 which had been conditionally intrusted to him.
 The persuasions of Savonarola were accompanied
 by threats and denunciations, that if the king viola-
 ted the oath which he had sworn, with his hand
 on the evangelists, and in the sight of God, he
 would incur the wrath of heaven, and meet with a
 merited punishment; but these representations,
 although

^p Guicciard. lib. ii. v. i. p. 98.

although urged by the fanatick with his usual vehemence, seem to have been little regarded by Charles; who at some times undertook to restore the places, and at others alleged, that prior to his oath, he had promised the citizens of Pisa to maintain their liberty;⁹ thus availing himself of the inconsistent engagements made with each of the contending parties, to frustrate the requisitions of both.

C H A P.
IV.
1493.
A. D. 30.

On the arrival of Charles at Pisa, the same solicitations and entreaties, with which he had been assailed in his route towards Naples, were again renewed with additional importunity, and no measures were omitted, which might induce him to take the inhabitants under his protection, and enable them to throw off the hateful yoke of the Florentines. In fact, the spirit of political independence was never more strongly evinced by any people than by the inhabitants of this place; who already began to manifest that inflexible disposition, which supported them through the long and severe trial which they were destined to undergo. The streets of the city were lined with escutcheons, and bannerets of the arms of France; the principal citizens, with all their attendants, were ready to receive the king; and the children, drest in white satin, embroidered with the *fleurs de lys*, saluted him

Eager entreaties of the inhabitants to obtain their liberties.

⁹ Guicciard. lib. ii. v. i. p. 98.

CHAP. lxxx with exclamations of *Vive le Roi.—Vive*
 IV. *la France*. As he proceeded towards the bridge,
 1495. an emblematical exhibition was prepared, on a
 Et. 20. scaffold decorated with rich tapestry, which represented a figure mounted on horseback, completely armed, so as to resemble a king of France. His mantle was strewed with lilies, and in his hand he held a naked sword, the point turned towards Naples. Under the feet of his horse, were the figures of a lion and of a large serpent, intended to represent the states of Florence and of Milan. On the following day, the king was formally requested, by a large body of the inhabitants, to take them under his safeguard; but his answer was, as usual, equivocal and unsatisfactory. Those assurances, which the citizens could not obtain, were next solicited by their wives and daughters; who, cloathing themselves in mourning, proceeded, bare-footed, through the streets towards the apartments of the king; and, being admitted to his presence, supplicated, with loud cries and exclamations, his compassion on their husbands, fathers, and children, entreating him to protect them against their oppressors.* In his reply, Charles assured them of his affection for the inhabitants of Pisa, and promised so to arrange matters, that they should have reason to be perfectly satisfied. The method which he took for this purpose, was to
 garrison

* *Vergier d'honneur.*

garrison the citadel with French soldiers, the command of whom he intrusted to D'Entragues, one of the most profligate of his followers; who, without regarding either the honour of his sovereign, or the wishes of the inhabitants, availed himself of the first opportunity of converting his trust to the purposes of his own emolument.

C. H. A. P.
IV.

1495.

Art. 20.

After remaining six or seven days at Pisa, Charles proceeded through Lucca and Pietra Santa, to Sarzana. On his arrival there, he received information, that the Genoese had shown a disposition to free themselves from the dominion of the duke of Milan, whereupon he despatched the duke de Bresse, with one hundred and twenty men at arms, and five hundred infantry, to encourage the attempt; which was also to be supported by the French fleet, which had sailed for that purpose from Naples. The Genoese, however, retained their fidelity; the fleet was wholly defeated and captured at Rapallo; and the duke de Bresse with difficulty

Louis, duke
of Orleans,
claims the
duchy of
Milan.

* "Un appelé Entragues, homme bien mal conditionné:" says Commynes, *liv. viii. chap. iii.*

† At Lucca, says André de la Vigne, the king

"Fut festie moult honnorablement,

"En submettant la ville entierement:

"Les corps, les biens des hommes et des femmes,

"A son plaisir et bon commandement,

"Pour le servir de cœeur, de corps, et dames."—

C H A P. difficulty effected a junction with the king at Asti,
IV. when it was too late to render him any service.

1495. In the mean time the duke of Orleans had not only
Art. 30. secured the town of Asti, through which Charles
 was necessarily to pass, but having also captured
 the city of Novara, a part of the territory of Milan,
 had begun to set up his hereditary pretensions; as
 a descendant of the Visconti, to the dominion of
 that duchy.

Massacre of
 the inhabi-
 tants of Pon-
 tremoli.

The advanced guard of the French army was
 led by the marshal de Gies, who was accompanied
 by Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio. In approaching the
 fortified town of Pontremoli, advantageously situa-
 ted at the foot of the Appenines, and which was
 garrisoned with three or four hundred soldiers,
 some resistance was expected; but on the ap-
 proach of the French, the place was surrendered
 without the necessity of an attack. On the troops
 being admitted within the town, a quarrel, however,
 arose between some of the inhabitants and a party
 of German soldiers in the service of the French,
 in which about forty of the latter lost their lives;
 a circumstance which so exasperated the rest of
 their countrymen, that they not only attacked and
 massacred the inhabitants, but set fire to the place.
 By this act of barbarity they consumed a consider-
 able quantity of provisions, of which the French
 army then stood in the greatest need. This out-
 rage, which it was not in the power of the marshal
 de Gies to prevent, was highly resented by the
 king;

king; not only on account of the loss of the necessary supplies, at a time when his troops were almost perishing for want, but of the disgrace which it attached to his arms;" and it was only in consequence of a most essential service, which the German auxiliaries soon afterwards rendered to him, that they were restored to his favour.

C H A P.
IV.
1495.
Æt. 20.

Having quitted Sarzana, Charles now arrived at the foot of the Appenines, near the town of Villa Franca; having consumed nearly six weeks in his march from Naples, at a time when his safety chiefly depended upon his passing the mountains, before his enemies had assembled a sufficient force to oppose his progress. The same good fortune, which had attended him on his descent to Naples, seemed, however, to accompany him on his return, and frequently reminded his annalist, Commynes, of an interview which he had at Florence, with Savonarola, in whose predictions he appears to have placed great confidence; and who assured him, "That God would conduct the king in safety, without the loss of his honour; but that, as a punishment for his neglecting the reformation of the church, and indulging his soldiers in their licentiousness,

Charles
passes the
Appenines.

/ "Tant pour la honte, qu'à cause des grans vivres qui y estoient," says Commynes, *liv. viii. chap. 4.* a passage which is perfectly intelligible; although his commentator, Sauvages, suggests the alteration of *honte* to *bonté*.

CHAP. "licentiousness, he must feel a stroke of the
IV. "scourge."^v In ascending the mountains, the

1495. army deviated from its former track, and inclined
Æt. 29. to the right, towards Parma, where they met with
steep acclivities, which rendered the conveyance of
their artillery, of which they had about forty heavy
pieces, a labour of extreme difficulty. On this
occasion the German auxiliaries offered their ser-
vices to the king, to transport the cannon by their
own labour, provided he would restore them to his
favour. Yoking themselves in couples, like beasts
of burthen, one or two hundred to a piece of artil-
lery, and aided by such horses as could be spared,
they at length reached the summit of the moun-
tains; but the danger and difficulty of descending
were not less than those which they had experi-
enced in the ascent, on account of the frequent
precipices which they were obliged to pass; and
which induced several of the officers to advise the
king to destroy his artillery, in order to expedite
his progress; but to this he would by no means
consent. It is, however, certain, that without the
aid of the Germans, the difficulties of conveying
the artillery over these rugged and trackless wilds
would have been wholly insurmountable.

Charles had now passed the summit of those
hills, which form the northern extremity of the
Appenines,

^v *Commynes*, liv. viii. chap. ii. p. 220.

Appenines, and was winding his array through the steep and narrow defiles of the mountains; when, as the plains of Lombardy opened upon his sight, he perceived, at the distance of a few miles, the tents and pavilions of a numerous army, assembled by the allies, to oppose his progress. Of this army, the chief command was intrusted to Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, who was assisted by his uncle Ridolfo, a soldier of acknowledged honour, and great experience. Under the marquis, several of the most celebrated generals in Italy led the different bodies of which the allied army was composed. The number is variously stated by contemporary authors. If we may credit the Italian writers, the amount scarcely exceeded that of the French; but Commines estimated them at the least, at thirty-five thousand men.

C H A P.

IV.

1495.

Æt. 20.

Is opposed by
the allied
army under
the marquis
of Mantua.

The allied army had already occupied an eminence on the banks of the river Taro, one of the numerous streams of the Appenines, which discharge themselves into the Po, between Parma and Piacenza. At the distance of about three miles from

* Cornazzano, in one of his sonnets, enumerates twenty of these tributary rivers; and he might have recorded as many more:

“ Non ti maravigliar se'l Po vien grosso

“ A primavera, e cresce in Ferrarese;

“ Vinti gran fiumi gli fanno le spese

“ Di neve alpestre, che gli scella adosso,” &c.

CHAP. from the Italian camp, the advanced guard of the
 IV. French took possession of the small town of For-
 1495. nova. From this place the marshal de Gies de-
 Et. 20. spatched a messenger to the allied army, requesting
 that the king might be allowed to pass without
 interruption to his own dominions, and might be
 supplied with provisions, for which he was willing
 to pay. On the arrival of the main body of the
 French army, which encamped on the banks of
 the river, between that of the allies and the town
 of Fornova, these demands were repeated; and
 Commines, who was personally acquainted with
 the Venetian commissaries, was directed to for-
 ward the negotiation. Commines, whilst he under-
 took the commission, told the king, with great
 sincerity, that he had little hopes of success, as he
 had never known two such large armies, so near to
 each other, quit the field without a trial of their
 strength.* Nor was he mistaken in this con-
 jecture; for the commissaries, after consulting the
 chief officers, returned for answer, that they could
 not consent to any pacification, unless the king
 would first lay down his arms, and consent to
 restore to the duke of Milan the city of Novara,
 and to the pope, the different places in the papal
 territories which had been occupied by his arms.

A contest was now unavoidable, and both par-
 ties prepared for it, with great devotional ceremony
 and

* *Mem. de Commines, liv. viii. chap. vi. p. 227.*

and repeated exhortations to the soldiery. A party of the *stradiotti*, or hussars, in the service of the Venetians, had approached towards the French camp, and falling in with a small detached body, had killed several of them, and dispersed the rest, carrying off the heads of the slain, in triumph, to the Italian camp. The approach of evening, however, prevented the general engagement till the following day; but a dreadful storm of thunder, attended by a copious fall of rain in the night, seemed to the superstitious multitude, to announce some important event, and struck both armies with terroure. "On Monday, the sixth day of July," says Commynes, with a simplicity almost ludicrous, "the gallant king Charles, in complete armour, mounted his horse, *Savoy*, which was presented to him by the duke of Savoy; he was the finest horse I ever saw; his colour was black, he had only one eye, was of a middle size, but well proportioned to his rider, who seemed, on this occasion, to be quite a different being from that for which nature had intended him, both in person and countenance; for he always appeared, and is still, timid in his speech, having been educated among low and effeminate people; but on this occasion, his horse gave dignity to his appearance; his countenance was firm, his complexion ruddy, and his expressions bold and judicious; insomuch that they reminded me of the promise of Savonarola, that God

" would

CHAP.
IV.
1495.
Æt. 20.
Préparat ions
for an en-
gagement.

C H A P. "would lead him by the hand, and that his honour
IV. "would still be preserved to him."?"

1495,

Æt. 20.

Battle of the
Taro.

The advanced guard of the French army was first directed to pass the river with the artillery, which was effected with great difficulty, and by the aid of a considerable number of beasts of burden. Next came the *batle*, or cavalry, in the midst of which was the king, accompanied by the duke de Tremouille. The rear of the army with the baggage, was brought up by the count de Foix. As the French army began to pass the river, the Italians were in motion. The marquis of Mantua, following close upon the French, attacked their rear with great impetuosity; whilst the other commanders of the allied army, passing the river in different directions, assailed the French troops on every side. The marshal de Gies, with the advanced guard, maintained the strictest discipline, and proceeded with little annoyance; but the king, being compelled to turn his front, to resist the powerful attack of the marquis of Mantua, found himself suddenly in the midst of the conflict, and was frequently in imminent danger of falling into the hands of his enemies; his relation, the bastard of Bourbon, having been made a prisoner within twenty paces of him. In the confusion that ensued, the commanders lost their authority. Gonzaga, rushing

rushing furiously among the enemy, fought his way into the midst of them ; and after a considerable slaughter, returned in safety to his followers. The French monarch is also said to have performed the duty of a common soldier.* Whilst the event yet remained doubtful, the count of Pitigliano, and Virginio Orsino, availed themselves of the opportunity of effecting their escape; and announced to the Italians the disorder of their enemies, endeavouring, by every possible means, to stimulate their countrymen to continue the battle, and to avail themselves of this occasion to destroy for ever, the influence of the French in Italy. Their exhortations were, however, of little avail. More intent on plunder than on victory, the Italian soldiery were inspired with no other emulation than that of acquiring the greatest share of the immense booty which the French had brought with them from Naples, of which having possessed themselves, they deserted their standards, and took to flight in every direction ; and Charles, collecting his scattered army, was suffered to proceed on his march. The royal standards, with the pavilion of the king, and a profusion of spoil, fell into the hands of the allies ;^a but the French having effected their

CHAP.

IV.

1495.

Æt. 20.

^a Muratori. *Annali d' Italia*, vol. ix. p. 581.

^a Among this booty were some singular articles :—

“ Vi fu trovato un libro, nel quale, sotto diversi habiti ed età,

CHAP. their passage, claimed the honour of the victory.

IV. The number slain on the part of the Italians was

1495. also much greater than on that of the French.*

Æt. 20.

Among

“età, al naturale erano dipinte molte femine per loro violate
 “in molte città, e seco il portavano *per memoria*.” *Corio*,
Storia di Milano. 949. Benedetti asserts, that he saw this
 invaluable treasure :—“Vidi io un libro, nel quale erano
 “dipinte varie imagini di meretrici, sotto diverso habito ed
 “età, ritratte al naturale ; secondo che la lascivia, e l’amore
 “l’aveva tratto in ciascuna città : queste portava egli (il Re)
 “seco dipinte *per ricordarsene* poi.” *Fatto d’arme del*
Turro, p. 31.

* Summonte asserts, that two thousand of the French,
 and four thousand Italians were slain in the engagement ;
Storia di Napoli, vol. iii. p. 582 ; but the number is exagger-
 rated. The slaughter of the Italians was in the proportion
 of more than ten to one of the French, who lost only from
 two to three hundred men. This is in a great degree to be
 attributed to the cruelty of the French, who massacred all
 those who fell into their hands, without making any pri-
 soners, whilst such of the French as were taken by the
 Italians were well treated, and soon afterwards obtained
 their liberty. In an interview, which Commynes had soon
 after the battle, with the Marquis of Mantua, that com-
 mander recommended to him the prisoners, and particu-
 larly his uncle Ridolfo, whom he supposed to be living ;
 “mais je sçavoye bien,” says Commynes, “le contraire ;
 “toutefois je l’asseuroye que tous les prisonniers seroyent
 “bien traitez, et luy recommanday le Bastard de Bourbon
 “qu’il tenoit. Les prisonniers par nous detenus estoient
 “bien aisés a penser ; car il n’en y avoit point. Ce qui
 “n’advint par adventure jamais en bataille.”

Mem. liv. viii. chap. vii. p. 233.

Among them was Ridolfo Gonzaga, with many other noblemen and officers of distinguished rank. Unaccustomed to the profuse shedding of blood in battle, the Italians seem to have considered this as a dreadful engagement. A historian of great authority admits that the event was doubtful, and that it diminished the fear which the Italians had entertained of the French; but Commynes represents it as an encounter of no great importance. "It was not, however," says he, "like the battles to which the Italians had been accustomed; which sometimes continued a whole day, without either party gaining the victory."

CHAP.
IV.
1495.
Æt. 30.

In judging of this engagement, which has been described at considerable length, by both the French and Italian historians, and from which such decisive consequences were expected, it is not easy to determine whether the misconduct of the French, or of the

Misconduct
of both parties.

^c *Thuanus Hist. sui Temp. lib. i.*

^d *Mem. de Comm. liv. viii. chap. vi. p. 231.* Machiavelli, in his *Decennale* i. 57. seems to concede the victory to the French:—

"Di sangue il fiume pareva à vedello,
"Ripien d'uomini e d'arme, e di cavagli,
"Caduti sotto al Gallico coltello.
"Così gli Italian' lasciaro andagli;
"E lor, senza temer gente avversara
"Giunson in Asti, e senz' altri travagli."

C H A P. the Italians, was the greater. The intention of the
 IV. French monarch, seems to have been to pass the
 1495. river, and if possible to avoid a battle ; in conse-
 Et. 20. quence of which attempt, he was not only deprived
 of the assistance of his advanced guard, in which
 he had placed almost all his infantry and artillery,
 but was also exposed, both in flank and in rear, to
 the attack of the allies. If instead of adopting a
 measure which was equally imprudent and pusil-
 lanimous, he had opposed his enemies in an open
 contest, it is easy to perceive, from the conse-
 quences of this irregular affray, how fatal the event
 must have been to the arms of the allies ; and that
 he might afterwards not only have pursued his
 march without interruption, but in all probability
 have possessed himself of the whole territory of
 Milan. Nor was the conduct of the allies less
 liable to reprehension than that of the French.
 The superiority of their numbers, and the advan-
 tages which they possessed, in attacking an enemy
 actually on their march, and impeded by the low
 and marshy banks of the river, ought to have se-
 cured to them an easy and decisive victory. But
 their army was divided into many detachments, un-
 der generals who paid little respect to the authority
 of the chief commander. Of these, some were
 unable, from the situation of the place, and others
 unwilling, to take an active part in the engagement.
 A great number fled at the first report of the
 French artillery, and of the remainder, the chief
 part were employed in sacking the French camp,
 and

and securing for their private use, as great a share of the plunder as they could obtain. The question is not, therefore, which of the contending parties obtained the greatest honour in this engagement; but which of them incurred the least disgrace.

C H A P.
IV.
1495.
Æt. 20.

The dread which the Italians had entertained of the French, may in some degree be estimated by the exultation which the event of the battle of the Taro occasioned in Italy. The praises of the marquis of Mantua resounded in every quarter, and the works of contemporary writers yet bear ample testimony to his fame. Ever hostile to the French, Crinitus immediately addressed to him a Latin ode. Battista Mantuano, has celebrated his prowess in a poetical allusion to his baptismal name; * and Lelio Capilupi has left a copy of Latin verses, intended as an inscription for his statue. Without prostituting his talents to national partiality, or personal flattery, Fracastorius has also adverted to this engagement, in a few beautiful lines, near the close of the first book of his *Syphilis*,

* "Dant sua Romanis victæ cognomina gentes,

"Et jam patratum testificantur opus :

"At nondum victi dederant tibi nomina *Frânci*,

"Hæc tibi venturæ nuntia laudis erat."

CHAP. *Is*, which deserve to be recalled to more particular
IV. notice. ^f

1495.

Æt. 20.

Ferdinand II.
returns to
Naples.

No sooner had Ferdinand, the young king of Naples, received information that Charles had quitted the city, than he made a descent on the coast of Calabria, at the head of about six thousand troops, hastily raised in Sicily, and supported by a detachment of Spaniards, under the command of Gonsalvo da Cordova; but the gallant d'Aubigny, to whom the defence of that part of the kingdom had been intrusted, was prepared for their reception; and, in an engagement near Seminara, defeated them with considerable loss. Gonsalvo fled across the mountains to Reggio, and Ferdinand returned to Messina, after owing his life to the generosity of his page, Giovanni di Capua, brother to the duke of Termini, who relinquished his horse

^f "Dii patrii, quorum Ausonia est sub numine, tuque
"Tu Latii, Saturne, pater, quid gens tua tantum
"Est merita? An quidquam superest dirique gravisque
"Quod sit inexhaustum nobis? Ecquod genus usquam
"Aversum usque adeo cælum tulit? Ipsa labores,
"Parthenope, dic prima tuos, dic funera regum,
"Et spolia, et prædas. captivæque colla tuorum.
"An stragem infandam memorem, sparsumque cruorem
"Gallorumque, Italûmque pari discrimine, quum jam
"Sanguineum, et defuncta virûm, defunctaque equorum
"Corpora volventem, cristasque atque arma trahentem
"Eridanus pater acciperet rapido agmine Tarrum?"

horse to the king when his own was slain under him, and thereby met with that death which would otherwise have been the fate of his master. At Messina he fitted out a fleet, consisting of numerous but small and weakly manned vessels, and proceeded towards Naples, where he was in hopes that the inhabitants would have shown some demonstrations of their attachment to his cause. Disappointed in his expectations, after hovering three days on the coast, he was proceeding to the island of Ischia, when a bark arrived from Naples, with information, that his return was most ardently wished by the inhabitants, who were only prevented by the presence of the French soldiery from manifesting their loyalty; and assuring him, that, if he would make a second descent on the coast, they would be ready to espouse his cause. On the day following that of the battle of the Taro, Ferdinand landed at Madalena, near the mouth of the river Sebeto, within a mile of Naples; and whilst the duke de Mompensier led out the French troops to oppose his progress, the inhabitants, tumultuously taking up arms, closed the gates of the city against their conquerors, and opened them only to receive their former sovereign, who entered, amidst the most joyful acclamations, into a place which he had quitted only a few months before, as an outcast and a fugitive.

The French, however, still retained possession of the two fortresses of Naples, the *Castel-nuovo*,
and

C H A P.
IV.
1495.
Æt 20.

CHAP. and *Castel dell'Uovo*, where the duke de Mom-
 IV. pensier for some time resisted the attacks of Ferdi-

1495. nand, till, being at length reduced to extremities,

Æt. 20. he effected his escape in safety to Salerno. At this

Contests be-
 tween the
 French and
 Neapolitans.

place he again raised the French standard, and reenforced his small army by the accession of several powerful partisans; till, conceiving himself sufficiently strengthened to hazard another attack, he approached towards Naples, defeated a considerable body of the Aragonese, and occasioned such consternation in the city, that the king was once more on the point of seeking his safety by flight. A timely reenforcement from the pope, and the powerful assistance of Prospero, and Fabrizio Colonna, at length enabled Ferdinand to repel his enemies; and the provincial cities of Capua and Nola, with many other important places, returned to their allegiance, and acknowledged him as their sovereign. The duke de Mompensier withdrew into the city of Atella, where he strongly fortified himself; whilst d'Aubigny still kept possession of Calabria, in the hope of supporting himself till the promised succours should arrive from France.

Expulsion of
 the French
 from the
 kingdom of
 Naples.

Amongst the other powers to whom Ferdinand had resorted for assistance in his necessities, he had not neglected the senate of Venice; who, having now avowed an open hostility to the French, sent to his succour a well armed fleet, and a considerable body of troops, under the command of the marquis of Mantua, who had so well established his
 military

military reputation at the battle of the Taro. This assistance was not, however, obtained without important sacrifices on the part of the king; and the Venetians were to be put in possession of Brindisi, Trani, Gallipoli, Otranto, and other places on the coast of the Adriatick, as pledges for the performance of the conditions on which it was furnished. On commencing the attack of Atella, Ferdinand was also joined by a body of Swiss troops, who had just arrived in Italy to cooperate with the French; but who now turned their arms against their employers, who were no longer able to advance them the stipulated pay. In this emergency, the duke de Mompensier had recourse to d'Aubigny, whom he earnestly entreated to send him immediate succours; and although that general, then in an infirm state of health, had to contend with the Spanish troops under the command of Gonsalvo, who had again taken the field, yet he sent a detachment to his assistance, under the command of the count de Moreto, and Alberto Sanseverino. Gonsalvo, however, surprised and defeated the French troops on their march, and made both the commanders prisoners. He then hastened to Atella, and uniting his arms with those of the king, blockaded the place so effectually, that the duke was reduced to the necessity of proposing a capitulation. A truce of thirty days was agreed on; and it was further stipulated, that if within that time a considerable armament should not arrive, the duke should not only surrender the fortress of Atella,

C H A P.

IV.

1495.

Æt. 20.

C H A P. Atella, but all the other places dependant on the

IV. French in the kingdom of Naples. Having secured

1495. his own retreat, Charles paid little regard to the

Et. 20. safety of the faithful soldiers whom he had left in Italy.* The expected succours did not appear, and the treaty was accordingly concluded. But Ferdinand, who had engaged to send the duke and his troops by sea to Provence, led them prisoners, to the amount of about six thousand men, to Naples, whence they were conveyed to the island of Procida, and other unhealthy places, where upwards of two thirds of them perished by sickness, famine, and pestilence. The duke de Mompensier shared the same fate, having died at Pozzuolo, leaving behind him the character of a good soldier, and a faithful subject. D'Aubigny had made some progress in Calabria, but, hearing of the capitulation of Atella, and being again closely pressed by Gonsalvo, he finally withdrew his troops from the Neapolitan territory, and had the good fortune to return with them in safety to France.

Charles VIII.
forms a new
alliance with
Lodovico
Sforza, and
returns to
France.

The capture of Novara by the duke of Orleans, which had been considered as an event highly favourable to the French, proved in the result one of the most humiliating and destructive incidents, which had occurred during the war. Soon after
the

* *Mem. de Commines, liv. viii. chap. xiii.*

the battle of the Taro, Novara was invested by the allies, who possessed themselves of the approaches, and so effectually cut off all supplies, that the duke of Orleans, with a numerous garrison, was reduced to the utmost extremity of famine. In this emergency, Charles had no resource but to enter into a treaty with Lodovico Sforza, for a temporary cessation of hostilities, which he with great difficulty obtained; and the duke of Orleans and the marquis of Saluzzo, with a small party of their friends, were suffered to visit the king at Vercelli, under a promise of returning to Novara, in case a final treaty was not concluded on. This circumstance led to a more general discussion between the adverse parties, in the course of which, Lodovico again changed his politicks, and, without the assent of his allies, entered into a league of perpetual peace and amity with the king, in which, among other articles, Lodovico agreed to allow him to fit out a fleet at the port of Genoa, and promised to grant him a free passage, on his return to Naples, and to assist him with money and troops. The bastard of Bourbon, with the rest of the French, made prisoners at the battle of the Taro, were set at liberty, and power was reserved for the Venetians to enter into the treaty within the space of two months, in which case they were to recall their fleet from Naples, and undertake not to afford any assistance to the house of Aragon. The city of Novara was restored to Lodovico; in consequence of which the French garrison, after having

C H A P.

IV.

1495.

Æt. 20.

C H A P. lost upwards of two thousand of their number by famine and disease, were led from thence to Vercelli, **IV.** so exhausted through want of sustenance, that **1495.** many of them perished on the road, and upwards **Æt. 20.** of three hundred died after their arrival.^a No sooner was the treaty concluded, than Commynes was again despatched to Venice, to induce the senate to accede to the terms proposed; and Charles, taking the route of Turin, returned in the month of October, 1495, to France, with the remains of his army; plundered, diseased, and reduced to less than one fourth of its original number.

Consequences
of the expedi-
tion of
Charles VIII.
into Italy.

Thus terminated the celebrated expedition of Charles VIII. against the kingdom of Naples; an expedition originating in puerile ambition, conducted with folly and rapacity, and ending in the dissipation of the revenues of his crown, and in the destruction of his army. That he accomplished his object, is the boast of the French historians; but it is easy to perceive, that the successes of Charles VIII. are not to be attributed to his courage or to his abilities, but to the weak and irresolute conduct of his adversaries, the selfish and temporizing policy of the Italian

^a The number which quitted Novara, was about five thousand five hundred men, of whom not more than six hundred were able to perform duty. *Commynes*, liv. viii. chap. x.

Italian states, and above all, to the odium excited against the house of Aragon, by the cruelties exercised by Ferdinand I. and his son Alfonso, on their subjects. If these advantages could have been countervailed by any misconduct of his own, the defeat of Charles had been certain. Such were his necessities in the commencement of his undertaking, and such the difficulties with which he provided for his soldiery, that he was not only obliged to borrow money at a most exorbitant interest, but even to plunder his friends and allies. The time chosen for his enterprise could not indeed have been more favourable to his views; for many causes had concurred to disgust the people of Italy with their rulers, and had led them to regard the French as their friends and deliverers, and as a nation on whose honour and good faith they could place the most perfect reliance; but this error was not of long duration; and the cruelty and disorder which distinguished the march of the French army soon convinced their partisans and admirers, that the expected change was not likely to promote their happiness. The irruption of the French seemed to be the extinction of all literature in Italy.ⁱ

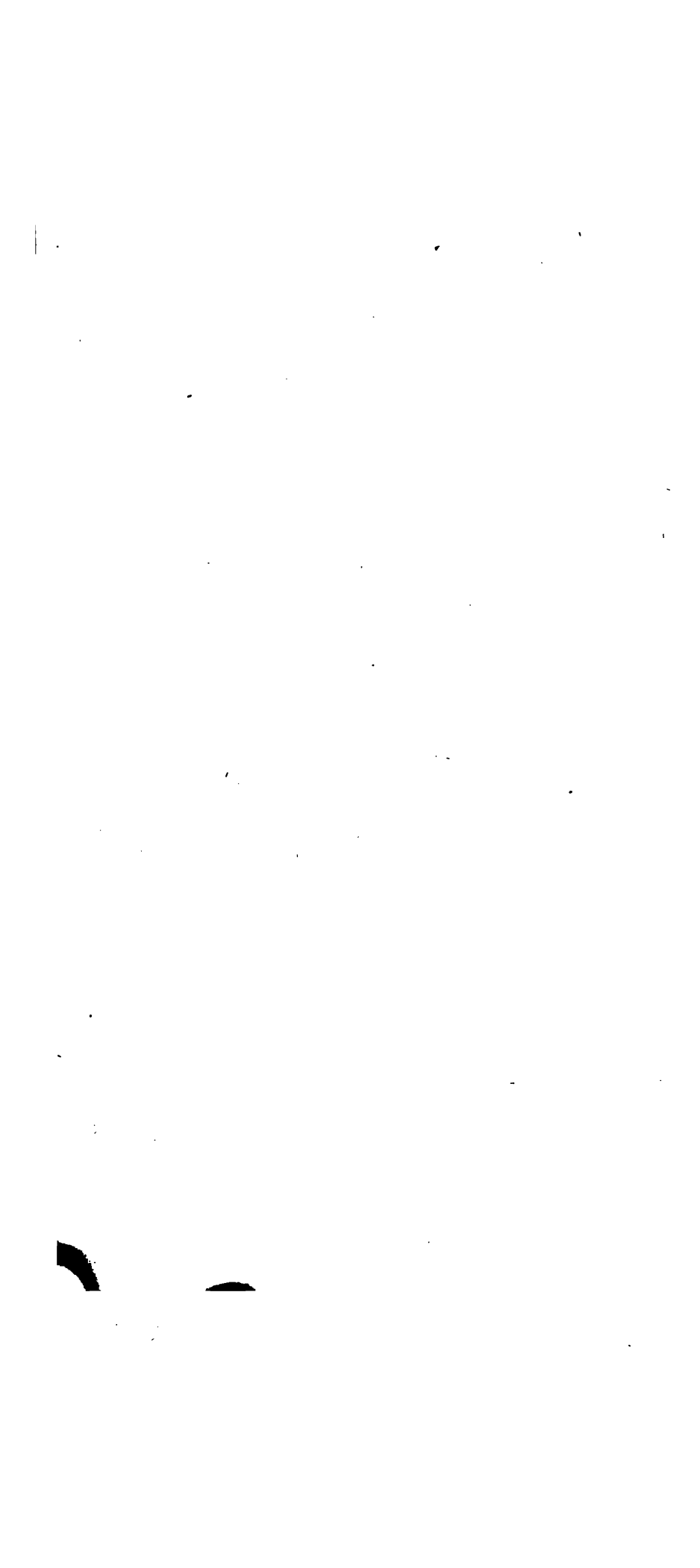
The

ⁱ "Nescio quo fato superiore anno evenerit, quo Francorum rex Carolus, Italiam cum infesto exercitu et instructis copiis invasit, ut principes viri in literis, atque
"in

CHAP. The example of a weak and licentious monarch
 IV. corrupted his followers. An incredible degree of
 1495. debauchery and prostitution prevailed. The re-
 Æt. 20. straints of modesty, the ties of morality, the voice
 of religion, were all equally disregarded ; and the
 hand of providence almost visibly interfered, to
 punish by the scourge of a loathsome and destruc-
 tive malady, those enormities which no other mo-
 tives could restrain. Shocked at the hideous dis-
 ease, which now first obtruded itself, like a putrid
 carcass, into the rosy bowers of pleasure, the Ita-
 lians and the French recriminated on each other
 the disgrace of its introduction ; and the appella-
 tions of *mal de Naples*, and *mal Franceze*, were
 intended by each of these nations, to remove to
 the other the infamy of its origin. Of all the con-
 sequences

“ in summis disciplinis clarissimi perierint : hoc est,
 “ *Hermolaus Barbarus, Io. Picus Mirandula, et An. Po-*
 “ *litianus* ; qui omnes in ipso statim Francorum adventu
 “ et conatibus, immaturo obitu, ad superos concesserunt.
 “ Sed enim literæ ipsæ, ac studium bonarum artium, si-
 “ mul cum Italiæ libertate, cæperunt paulatim extingui,
 “ barbaris ingruentibus, cum deessent hi homines, qui
 “ illas, suo patrocinio, assiduisque studiis, mirificè fove-
 “ rent. Qualis inter alios vir summa sapientia & egregio
 “ animo *Laurentius Medicis* * * * * Quæ res monere
 “ interdum me solet, quam brevi tempore fortunæ ratio
 “ commutetur, quamque iniquè nunc agatur cum bonis
 “ studiis ; siquidem pro melioribus disciplinis, vitia, pro
 “ humanitate et officiis, bella et cædes succreverunt.” *Cri-*
nitus, de honestâ discipl. lib. xv. cap. ix.

sequences incident to the expedition of Charles C H A P.
VIII. against the kingdom of Naples, it is proba- IV.
ble that this will be the longest remembered. In 1495.
other respects, this event seems only to have broken Æt. 20.
down those barriers, which nature had formed to
secure the repose of mankind, and to have opened
a wider field for the range of ambition, and the
destruction of the human race.



CHAP. V.

1496—1499.

MARRIAGE of Ferdinand II. of Naples—His death—Contest respecting the dominion of Pisa—Descent of the emperor elect, Maximilian, into Italy—The Medici attempt to regain their authority in Florence—Death of Beatrice of Este—Alexander VI. attacks the Roman barons—Recovers the city of Ostia—Death of the duke of Gandia son of Alexander VI.—Particular account of that event—Cesar Borgia accused of the murder of his brother without sufficient evidence—Second attempt of the Medici to enter the city of Florence—Fatal consequences to their partisans within the city—Paolo Vitelli appointed general of the Florentines against Pisa—The Florentines form an alliance with Lodovico Sforza—Death of Charles VIII. and accession of Louis XII.—Death of Savonarola—Vitelli captures the fortress of Vico Pisano—Third attempt of the Medici to regain their native place—The contest respecting Pisa submitted to the decision of Ercole, duke of Ferrara—His interference proves ineffectual—The inhabitants of Pisa resolve to defend themselves—Vitelli effects a breach in the walls—Neglects to avail himself of his advantages—Is brought to Florence and decapitated.

THE death of Alfonso II. the fugitive king of Naples, which happened at Messina on the nineteenth day of November, 1495, had confirmed to Ferdinand the possession of the crown; and he, being now freed from the apprehensions of the French,

CHAP.
V.
1496.
Æt. 21.

C H A P. French, thought it expedient to enter into the ma-
 V. trimonial state. In selecting a bride, he found no
 1496. great difficulty ; having chosen, for that purpose,
 Æt. 21. his aunt Joanna, the half sister of his father, then
 Marriage of only fourteen years of age, but highly distinguished
 Ferdinand II, by her beauty and accomplishments. This
 king of Na- marriage gave great scandal to the christian world;^a
 pels. ed by her beauty and accomplishments. This
 marriage gave great scandal to the christian world;^a
 but the dispensation of the pope speedily removed
 all difficulties. Guicciardini, who supposed that
 mankind are always actuated by motives of poli-
 tical interest, accounts for this union, by presu-
 ming, that Ferdinand wished to strengthen his
 connexion with the king of Spain ; but had the
 ties of consanguinity been a sufficient title to his
 favour, Ferdinand already stood nearly related to
 him ; and it is therefore more probable, that the
 motive of his choice was the gratification of an
 amorous passion, which he had conceived during
 their voyage to Sicily. This is rendered yet more
 probable by the accounts given of the cause of his
 death ; which event took place on the fifth day of
 September, 1496, and was said to have been occa-
 sioned, or accelerated, by the excessive indulgence
 of his passion for his new bride.^b As he left no
 offspring,

His death.

^a "Ce me semble horreur," says Commynes, "de parler
 "d'un tel mariage ; dont on eu fait ja plusieurs en cette
 "maison." *Mem. de Commynes*, lib. viii. chap. xiv. p. 251.

^b *Summonte, Hist. di Napoli* iii. lib. vi. p. 583. He is
 comme-

offspring, he was succeeded in his dominions by his uncle Federigo, a prince of excellent dispositions, and considerable talents; but the ambition of his contemporaries, and the unfavourable circumstances of the times, prevented his people from enjoying that happiness which they might otherwise have experienced under his government.

C H A P.
V.
1496.
Æt. 21.

Before Charles VIII. had quitted Turin, on his return to France, another interview had taken place between him and the Florentine deputies; who still pursued him with their solicitations and remonstrances; and by the advance of a large sum of money, of which he stood greatly in need, and many unreasonable concessions, obtained from him a definitive assurance that Pisa should again be restored to them.^c Directions were accordingly sent to d'Entraghes to surrender to them the citadel; but these directions were either accompanied by others of a contrary tendency, or d'Entraghes preferred his own interest to the honour and the favour of his master; for, instead of complying with the orders of the king, he sold the fortress to the inhabitants

Contests respecting the dominion of Pisa.

commemorated by the following lines, in the sacristy of the church of S. Domenico, at Naples:

“ Ferrandum, Mors sæva, diù fugis arma gerentem;
“ Mox positis, quænam gloria? fraude necas.”

^c Guicciard. *Storia d'Italia*, lib. ii. l. 120.

CH A P. inhabitants of Pisa, for the sum of twelve thousand
 V. ducats; and, having received the money, relin-
 1496. quished it into their hands.
 Et 21.

The Florentines, thus deluded in their expectations, had immediate recourse to arms. The citizens of Pisa, on the other hand, not only prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity, but endeavoured, by the most earnest solicitations, to obtain assistance from several of the other states of Italy, and even of Europe; to whom they did not hesitate to offer the dominion of their city, provided they were freed from the yoke of the Florentines. The Venetians, eager to extend the limits of their territories, were among the first to listen to their entreaties. Lodovico Sforza also engaged in their defence. The Florentine army, under the command of Paolo Vitelli, attempted to storm the city; but, after having driven in, with great precipitation and slaughter, the troops employed in the defence, and possessed themselves of the suburbs, they were, in their turn, obliged to retreat by the artillery of the citadel; their commander being wounded, and many of the soldiery killed. Encouraged by their success, the troops of Pisa took the field, and opposed themselves to the Florentines, over whom they obtained some advantages, although no decisive engagement took place.

In

In this situation of affairs, a new competitor made his appearance, with the intention of terminating at once the pretensions of inferiour powers, and of taking the city of Pisa under his own protection. This was no less a personage than the emperor elect, Maximilian; who, induced by the offers of the citizens of Pisa, and the persuasions of Lodovico Sforza, passed, in the month of October, 1496, with a party of horse, and eight regiments of infantry, through the Valtelline, into the territories of Milan. After having been splendidly entertained during some days, by Lodovico, he hastened to Genoa, where he embarked, with his troops, for Pisa; but on his arrival there, he found that the Venetians had already occupied the garrison, as auxiliaries to the inhabitants, and, conceiving themselves equal to the defence of the place, did not choose that he should share with them, either in the honour or the spoil. He then sailed to Leghorn, which place he cannonaded for several days, and where he had nearly lost his life by a ball, which carried away a part of the imperial rope. This place was defended by the celebrated Tebalducci, the first of the Florentine *Condottieri* who succeeded in introducing a proper state of subordination and discipline amongst the Italian soldiery.^a During this contest, the Venetian commissaries

C. H. A. P.

V.

1496.

Æt. 21.

Descent of the emperor elect, Maximilian, into Italy.

^a Nardi, *Vita d'Antonio Giacomini Tebalducci Malestini*. Fior. 1597. 4to, *passim*.

C H A P. missaries admonished Maximilian to desist, as they
 V. had themselves pretensions to the possession of
 1496. the place. He then determined to attack the
 A.D. 21. Tuscan territories, for the purpose of devastation
 and plunder; but at this moment, a violent tem-
 pest dispersed his fleet. Finding all his purposes
 defeated, and apprehensive for his own safety,
 Maximilian abandoned his enterprise, and took the
 speediest route to his own dominions; where he
 arrived, full of animosity against the Venetians,
 and with no small discredit to his character as a
 military commander.

The Medici
 attempt to
 regain the
 city of Flo-
 rence.

Whilst the Florentines were thus contending
 with powerful enemies abroad, and were distracted
 by discordant opinions, and the inflammatory ha-
 rangues of Savonarola at home, the brothers of the
 Medici conceived that a favourable opportunity
 was afforded for attempting to regain their autho-
 rity in their native place. For this purpose they
 formed the project of an attack upon the city, in
 conjunction with their kinsman, Virginio Orsino;
 who, after having escaped from the custody of the
 French king, at the battle of the Taro, had again
 begun to collect his adherents, in hopes of retriev-
 ing the fortunes of his house, by the sale of their
 services. The Medici were then at Rome; but
 Virginio having flattered them with the fairest
 hopes of success, if the necessary resources could
 be found for the payment of his troops, they ex-
 erted themselves in procuring for him large sums
 of

of money, with which he continued to increase the number of his followers. The three brothers also employed themselves with great industry, in collecting together their adherents from all parts of Italy. Piero having obtained pecuniary assistance from the Venetians, and being favoured in his enterprise by the pope, raised a considerable number of troops within the papal states, with which he advanced through the territory of Siena to the lake of Perugia, expecting to be joined by such levies as his brother Giuliano had been able to assemble in Romagna. A formidable body being thus collected, Virginio and Piero de' Medici passed, in the midst of winter, into Umbria; and, by a toilsome march through the snow, at length reached the baths of Rapollano. The Florentines had, however, been apprized of the attempt, and had withdrawn a part of their troops from Pisa for their own defence. They had also fortified and strengthened the cities of Arezzo and Cortona, and continued to watch with unremitting vigilance the adherents of the Medici within the walls of Florence. The vigour and promptitude of these precautions, depressed the hopes of the assailants, who had relied more on the exertions of their friends within the city, than on their own force, and supposed, that the appearance of a powerful military body in the vicinity, would encourage them to declare themselves. No disturbance was, however, excited; and Virginio, instead of proceeding to the attack, contented himself with plundering

CHAP.

V.

1496.

Oct. 21.

CHAP. plundering the defenceless villages, for the sub-
 V. sistance of his troops. Whilst such was the hope-
 1496. less state of the expedition, he received highly
 Et. 21. advantageous offers to induce him to relinquish
 his undertaking, and join the standard of the French,
 then on the point of being expelled from the king-
 dom of Naples. Virginio did not long hesitate
 between his honour and his interest. Even his
 animosity to the king of France, who had unjustly
 detained him as a prisoner, gave way to the hopes
 of gain; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances
 of Piero and his friends, he led his troops toward
 Naples; not, however, without the most solemn
 promises that as soon as the contest respecting
 that kingdom should be terminated, he would
 return to Tuscany, with a more powerful arma-
 ment; promises which, if sincere, he never had
 an opportunity of fulfilling; for, being captured
 with the duke de Mompensier, at Atella, he expe-
 rienced the same fate as that officer, having died
 whilst a prisoner at Naples.* The cardinal de
 Medici, and his brother Giuliano, who had in vain
 endeavoured to prevail upon Giovanni Bentivoglio
 of Bologna, to assist them in their attempt, were
 now obliged to retire from that place, and to seek
 for shelter within the territories of Milan.†

Early

* *Nardi. Histor. Fiorent. lib. ii. p. 28.*

† *Jovii, Vita Leon. x. lib. i. p. 17, 19.*

Early in the year 1497, the prosperous fortunes of Lodovico Sforza were interrupted by a domestic disaster, which was only the harbinger of his approaching calamities. His wife Beatrice, the partner of his ambition, his grandeur, and his crimes, and of whose councils he had on every occasion availed himself, died in childbed, after having been delivered of a son, who did not survive his mother.* Though insensible, or regardless of the distress which he had occasioned throughout Italy, Lodovico sunk under his misfortune, in weak and unmanly sorrow; and sought to alleviate his grief, and at the same time, perhaps, to gratify his ostentation, by the most expensive and splendid obsequies, which were repeated, with additional magnificence, on the expiration of a year from the death of his wife. During this interval, he never seated himself at his table; but was served in a chamber hung with black, from the hands

CHAP.
V.

1497.

Æt. 22.

Death of Beatrice of Este, wife of Lodovico Sforza.

* The epitaph which Lodovico caused to be placed over the body of his child, displays his arrogance in the midst of his grief.

“ Infelix partus, amisi ante vitam quàm in lucem ederer;
 “ infelicior quòd matri moriens vitam ademi, et parentem
 “ consorte sua orbavi. In tam adverso fato hoc solum mihi
 “ potest jucundum esse, QUOD DIVI PARENTES ME LUDOVICUS,
 “ ET BEATRIX, MEDIOLANENSES DUCES, GENU-
 “ ERE. 1497, TERTIO NONAS JANUARIJ.”

Corio, Storia di Milan. par. vii. p. 962.

CHAP. hands of his attendants.^h Such a violent and per-
 severing sorrow, caused him to be considered,
 1497. throughout all Italy, as a paragon of conjugal fide-
 24. 22. ly; and the poets of the time sought to assuage
 his grief, by celebrating his affection, and embalm-
 ing the memory of his wife in their verse.ⁱ

Alexander
 VI. attacks
 the Roman
 barons.

Alexander VI. being now firmly seated in the
 pontifical chair, and freed from his apprehensions of
 the French, began to adopt those vigorous mea-
 sures for the subjugation of the Roman nobility,
 and

^h Cario, *Histor. Milan. parte vii. p. 962.*

ⁱ Among these was the Greek Marullus, who has devo-
 ted the following hyperbolic lines to her memory :

“ Solverat Eridanus tumidarum flumina aquarum ;

“ Solverat, et populis non levis horror erat.

“ Quippe, gravis Pyrrhæ metuentes tempora cladis,

“ Credebant simili crescere flumen aqua.

“ Ille dolor fuerat sævus, lacrymæque futuri

“ Funeris, et justis dona paranda novis :

“ Scilicet et fluvios tangunt tua acerba, BEATRIX,

“ Funera, nedum homines mœstaque corda VIRI.”

Ætigr. lib. iv.

On the same subject, the learned Pontico Virunio wrote
 four books of Latin elegies, “ historiis Græcorum, et
 fabulis reconditis refertos, pulcherrimaque inventione di-
 gestos ;” from the perusal of which, Lodovico, it seems,
 derived great consolation. *Zeno Diss. Voss. vol. ii. p. 315.*
 These elegies have not been printed.

and the aggrandizement of his own family, which he pursued with unremitting industry, during the remainder of his life. His eldest son, Giovanni, had been honoured, by Ferdinand of Spain, with the title of duke of Gandia; Cesar, his second son, had been raised to the dignity of the purple; and his daughter Lucrezia, who, before the elevation of her father, had been married to a Spanish gentleman, was, soon after that event, divorced from her husband, and became the wife of Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro. The first hostile attempt of the pontiff, was directed against the territories of the Orsini; who had equally disregarded his admonitions and his threats, and had united their arms with those of the French. The command of the papal troops, destined to this expedition, was intrusted to the duke of Gandia; who was accompanied by Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, a commander of acknowledged courage and experience. After possessing themselves of some places of inferior importance, they commenced the siege of Bracciano. This event first called into action the military talents of Bartolommeo d' Alveano, then very young, but who afterwards established his reputation, as one of the most accomplished commanders of Italy. In conjunction with Carlo, the illegitimate son of Virginio Orsino, and Vitellozzo Vitelli, he vigorously attacked the papal troops. The engagement continued for several hours; in the result, the Roman generals were completely routed; the duke

CHAP.
VI.
1497.
Æt. 22.

C. H. A. P. of Urbino was taken prisoner, with several other
 V. noblemen, and officers of high rank ; but the duke
 1497. of Gandia effected his escape, after having been
 Et. 22. slightly wounded in the thigh. Thus disappointed
 in his attempt to wrest from the family of Orsini
 their patrimonial possessions, Alexander had re-
 course, for the aggrandizement of his offspring, to
 another expedient. With the consent of the col-
 lege of cardinals, he separated from the states of
 the church, the city of Benevento ; and erecting it
 into an independent dutchy, conferred it, with
 other domains, on his eldest son.¹

Recovers
the city of
Ostia.

Although Charles VIII. after his return from
 his Neapolitan expedition, had relinquished to the
 pope, the fortresses of Civita Vecchia, Terracina,
 and other places within the papal state, which he
 had occupied by his arms, he still retained the city
 of Ostia, the command of which he had intrusted
 to the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, bishop of
 that

¹ “Feria quarta, septima Junii, fuit secretum consisto-
 rium, in quo serenissimus D. noster erexit civitatem
 “ Beneventanam in ducatum, et de consensu omnium car-
 “ dinalium qui interfuerunt, nullo se opponente, seu mini-
 “ mum verbum contradicente, infeudavit illustrissimum
 “ dominum Johannem Borgiã, de Arragonia ducem Gandiæ,
 “ S. R. E. capitaneum generalem, filium suum carissimum,
 “ et omnes successores suos, ex lumbis descendentes.” &c.

that place. The expulsion of the French from Naples, by the aid of the Spanish troops, under the command of Gonsalvo, had not only encouraged the pope to attempt the recovering of this important station, but afforded him an opportunity of carrying his intentions into effect, by the aid of Gonsalvo, who being then unemployed, gladly accepted of the lucrative offers of the pontiff, to assist in the attack. Uniting his arms with those of the pope, Gonsalvo proceeded to bombard the fortress; but the cannonading had scarcely commenced, when Menaldo, who held the place for the cardinal, and who by his piratical depredations, had greatly annoyed the navigation of the Tiber, surrendered at discretion; and was led by Gonsalvo, in triumph, to Rome. On his approach to the city, Gonsalvo was met by the sons of the pontiff, the cardinals and prelates of the church, and by an immense concourse of the people, who were anxious to see a man, whose exploits had already extended his fame through all Italy. He was immediately introduced to the pope, who received him with the holy kiss, and bestowed upon him, in full consistory, the golden rose, which is annually consecrated by the pontiff, and presented only to sovereigns and great princes, who have merited the favour of the holy see.¹ On this occasion Gonsalvo gave a proof of

CHAP.
V.
1497.
Æt. 22.

^k Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital. lib. ii. l. 94.*

¹ Jovii, *vita magni Gonsalvi. lib. i. p. 222.*

C. H. A. P. of his magnanimity, in prevailing on the pontiff to spare the life of Menaldo; who being set at liberty, was permitted to retire to France.^m

Æt. 33.

Death of the
duke of Gandia,
son of Alexander
VI.

The exultation of the pontiff on this occasion, was not, however, of long continuance, having been speedily succeeded by a most tragical event, that not only blasted, in a great degree, the hopes of his family, but branded it with a stigma, which has rendered it peculiarly odious to future times. This was the death of the duke of Gandia; who, after having passed the evening at a splendid entertainment, given by his mother, was, on his return home, assassinated, and his body thrown into the Tiber; where it remained undiscovered for several days. The perpetration of this crime has been imputed by the Italian historians, without hesitation, to Cesar Borgia; who, being disgusted with his ecclesiastical profession, and earnestly desirous of signalizing himself in a military capacity, is supposed to have considered his brother as having preoccupied the station which he was desirous of obtaining; and to have been jealous of the superiour ascendancy which the duke had acquired, in the favour of the pontiff. In examining these motives, it might indeed be observed, that the destination of the elder brother to a secular employment

^m Guicciard. *Storia d'Italia*. lib. iii. 1. 175.

ployment did not necessarily confine the younger to an ecclesiastical state ; and that the honours bestowed on the duke of Gandia, did not seem to prevent the pontiff from promoting the interests of his second son, whom he had placed in such a station, as to afford him an opportunity of obtaining the highest dignity in christendom. Some authors have, therefore, not scrupled to suggest a more powerful cause of his supposed enmity, by asserting, that he was jealous of the preference which the duke had obtained in the affections of their sister Lucrezia, with whom it is said, that not only the two brothers, but even Alexander, her father, had criminal intercourse.^a Frequently, however, as this charge has been repeated, and indiscriminately as it has been believed, it might not be difficult

C H A P.
V.
1497.
Æt. 22.

^a “Era medesimamente fama, se però è degno di cre-
dersi tanta enormità, che nell’ amor di Madonna Lucre-
zia concorressino, non solamente i due fratelli, ma ezian-
dio il padre medesimo.”

Guicciard. Storia d’ Ital. lib. iii. 1. 182.

“On avoit des preuves convainquantes,” says the com-
piler Moreri, “que Cæsar étoit l’auteur de ce fratricide ;
“car, outre ses intérêts d’ambition, il ne pouvoit souffrir
“que le duc de Gandia eut plus de part que lui aux bonnes
“graces de Lucrece Borgia, leur sœur, et leur maitresse.”
Moreri, art. Cas. Borgia. Thus to convict a person of one
crime, it seems only necessary to accuse him of another
equally groundless, and to denominate this a *convincing*
proof.

C H A P. difficult to show, that so far from this being, with
 V. justice, admitted as a proof, that Cesar was the
 1497. perpetrator of the murder of his brother, the im-
 Et. 22. putation is in itself, in the highest degree improba-
 ble; and this transaction must therefore be judged
 of by such positive evidence as yet remains, with-
 out presuming the guilt of Borgia from circum-
 stances which are yet more questionable than the
 crime of which he stands primarily accused.*

Particular
 account of
 this event.

The most interesting and particular account of this mysterious event is given by Burchard; and is in substance, as follows: "On the eighth day of June, the cardinal of Valenza, and the duke of Gandia, sons of the pope, supped with their mother, Vanozza, near the church of *S. Pietro ad vincula*; several other persons being present at the entertainment. A late hour ap-
 "proaching,

* Gordon, in his *Life of Alexander VI.* (*Lond.* 1720. *fo.*) not only asserts, on the authority of Tomaso Tomasi, that Cesar was the perpetrator of this murder, but has given at great length the private conferences between him and the assassins hired for this purpose, with as much accuracy, as if he had himself been present on the occasion. (*v. pp.* 153, &c.) In the same manner he has also favoured us with the private conversation between Cesar and the duke, on their last interview in the streets of Rome: "Cesar wished him much pleasure, and so they parted."—A mode of writing, which reduces history below the level of romance.

"proaching, and the cardinal having reminded his
 "brother, that it was time to return to the apos-
 "tolick palace, they mounted their horses or mules,
 "with only a few attendants, and proceeded toge-
 "ther as far as the palace of cardinal Ascanio
 "Sforza, when the duke informed the cardinal,
 "that before he returned home, he had to pay a
 "visit of pleasure. Dismissing therefore all his
 "attendants, excepting his *staffiero*, or footman,
 "and a person in a mask, who had paid him a visit
 "whilst at supper, and who, during the space of
 "a month, or thereabouts, previous to this time,
 "had called upon him almost daily, at the aposto-
 "lick palace, he took this person behind him on
 "his mule, and proceeded to the street of the
 "Jews, where he quitted his servant, directing
 "him to remain there until a certain hour; when,
 "if he did not return, he might repair to the
 "palace. The duke then seated the person in the
 "mask behind him, and rode, I know not whither;
 "but in that night he was assassinated, and thrown
 "into the river. The servant, after having been
 "dismissed, was also assaulted and mortally
 "wounded; and although he was attended with
 "great care, yet such was his situation, that he could
 "give no intelligible account of what had befallen
 "his master. In the morning, the duke not hav-
 "ing returned to the palace, his servants began to
 "be alarmed; and one of them informed the pon-
 "tiff of the evening excursion of his sons, and
 "that the duke had not yet made his appearance.
 "This

C H A P.

V.

1497.

Æt. 22.

- CHAP. " This gave the pope no small anxiety; but he
 V. " conjectured that the duke had been attracted by
 1497. " some courtesan to pass the night with her, and
 EL. 22. " not choosing to quit the house in open day, had
 " waited till the following evening to return home.
 " When, however, the evening arrived, and he
 " found himself disappointed in his expectations,
 " he became deeply afflicted, and began to make
 " inquiries from different persons, whom he or-
 " dered to attend him for that purpose. Amongst
 " these was a man named Giorgio Schiavoni, who,
 " having discharged some timber from a bark in the
 " river, had remained on board the vessel to watch
 " it, and being interrogated whether he had seen
 " any one thrown into the river, on the night
 " preceding, he replied, that he saw two men on
 " foot, who came down the street, and looked
 " diligently about to observe whether any person
 " was passing. That seeing no one, they returned,
 " and a short time afterwards two others came,
 " and looked around in the same manner as the
 " former; no person still appearing, they gave a
 " sign to their companions, when a man came,
 " mounted on a white horse, having behind him a
 " dead body, the head and arms of which hung on
 " one side, and the feet on the other side of the
 " horse; the two persons on foot supporting the
 " body to prevent its falling. They thus pro-
 " ceeded towards that part, where the filth of the
 " city is usually discharged into the river, and
 " turning the horse, with his tail towards the water,
 " the

“ the two persons took the dead body by the arms
 “ and feet, and with all their strength flung it into
 “ the river. The person on horseback then asked
 “ if they had thrown it in, to which they replied,
 “ *Signor, si.* (yes, sir.) He then looked towards
 “ the river, and seeing a mantle floating on the
 “ stream, he inquired what it was that appeared
 “ black, to which they answered, it was a mantle;
 “ and one of them threw stones upon it, in conse-
 “ quence of which it sunk. The attendants of the
 “ pontiff then inquired from Giorgio, why he had
 “ not revealed this to the governour of the city;
 “ to which he replied, that he had seen in his time,
 “ a hundred dead bodies thrown into the river at
 “ the same place, without any inquiry being made
 “ respecting them, and that he had not, therefore,
 “ considered it as a matter of any importance. The
 “ fishermen and seamen were then collected and
 “ ordered to search the river, where, on the fol-
 “ lowing evening, they found the body of the
 “ duke, with his habit entire, and thirty ducats
 “ in his purse. He was pierced with nine wounds,
 “ one of which was in his throat, the others in his
 “ head, body, and limbs. No sooner was the
 “ pontiff informed of the death of his son, and that
 “ he had been thrown, like filth, into the river,
 “ than giving way to his grief, he shut himself up
 “ in a chamber, and wept bitterly. The cardinal
 “ of Segovia, and other attendants on the pope,
 “ went to the door, and after many hours spent in
 “ persuasions and exhortations, prevailed upon
 VOL. I. 3 B “ him

C H A P.

V.

1497.

Æt. 22.

CHAP. "him to admit them. From the evening of
 V. "Wednesday, till the following Saturday, the
 1497. "pope took no food ; nor did he sleep from Thurs-
 Et. 22. "day morning till the same hour on the ensuing
 "day. At length, however, giving way to the
 "entreaties of his attendants, he began to restrain
 "his sorrow, and to consider the injury which his
 "own health might sustain, by the further indul-
 "gence of his grief."

Cesar Borgia
 accused of
 the murder
 of his brother
 without suf-
 ficient evi-
 dence.

From this account, which is in truth the only authentick information that remains, respecting the death of the duke, it seems probable, that he had for some time been carrying on an amorous intrigue, by the intervention of the person who so frequently visited him in disguise. That the evening on which he met with his death, he had been detected by some jealous rival, or injured husband, and had paid with his life the forfeiture of his folly, his presumption, or his guilt. The cardinal appears not to have had the least share in directing the motions of the duke ; nor does it appear from Burchard, that he again left the palace, after he had returned home on the evening, when the murder was committed. Throughout the whole narrative, there is not the slightest indication, that Cesar had any share in the transaction ; and the continuance of the favour of both his father and his mother, after this event, may sufficiently prove to every impartial mind, that he was not even suspected by them as the author of the crime.

The

The brothers of the Medici, disappointed in their first attempt to regain their native place, now formed a more deliberate and systematick plan for effecting their purpose. Amidst the internal commotions which Florence had experienced since the expulsion of the Medici, the form of its government had undergone frequent changes, until the populace had at length usurped the whole direction of the state, to the exclusion of the higher ranks, and under the influence of Savonarola, had united the enthusiasm of liberty with the fanaticism of superstition. The violent extremes to which they proceeded soon, however, produced a reaction favourable to their opponents. The inability of a set of artisans, who left their stalls in the habits of their occupations, to regulate the concerns of the state, became apparent; the misconduct or negligence of the rulers had been manifested by an alarming scarcity of provisions; and at length, by the exertions of the more respectable inhabitants, the office of *gonfaloniere* was conferred on Bernardo del Nero, a citizen of advanced age and great authority, whose long and friendly intercourse with the family of the Medici, gave reason to suppose that he was well inclined to their interest. The other offices of government were also filled by persons who were supposed to be adverse to the *frateschi*, or followers of Savonarola. Encouraged by these favourable circumstances, Piero communicated his views to the Venetians, who promised to support him in his attempt. The concurrence

of

C H A P.
V.
1497.
Æt. 22.
Second attempt of the Medici to enter the city of Florence.

CHAP. of Alexander VI. who was highly exasperated
 V. against the Florentines, for the protection afforded
 1497. to Savonarola, in his free censures of the abuses
 Et. 22. of the church, was easily obtained; nor did Lo-
 dovico Sforza oppose an enterprise, which, by di-
 viding and weakening the Florentines, might afford
 him an opportunity of availing himself of their
 dissensions to his own advantage. The military
 commander chosen by Piero de' Medici, on this
 occasion, was Bartolommeo d'Alveano, who had
 acquired great honour in the defence of Bracciano,
 against the arms of the pope. By the credit and
 exertions of the three brothers, a considerable
 body of troops was raised, with which d'Alveano,
 marching only by night, and through the least
 frequented roads, proceeded to Siena. He was
 here met by Piero and Giuliano, who had obtained
 further succours from the inhabitants of Siena,
 whose aversion to the Florentines led them to pro-
 mote every measure that was likely to increase their
 internal commotions, or to weaken their political
 strength.^p A communication was secretly opened
 between the Medici and their friends in Florence.
 The day was agreed upon, when the Medici should,
 early in the morning, approach the city, and enter
 the gates; at which time their adherents would
 be ready to receive them, and to second their
 efforts

^p Malavolti, *Storia di Siena*. par. 3. p. 103.

efforts. In their progress towards Florence they met with no interruption; and, arriving within a few miles of the city, they took their stations for the night; intending to reach the walls at the hour appointed, on the following morning. When, however, they prepared to pursue their route, they found their order deranged, and their progress obstructed by the effects of an uncommon fall of rain, which had continued throughout the night; and which, by postponing their arrival until a late hour of the day, gave sufficient time to their adversaries to be apprized of their intentions. Vigorous measures were instantly adopted for the defence of the city. Paolo Vitelli, the *condottiero* of the Florentine troops, who had casually arrived there on the preceding evening, secured the gates, and took the command of those who were ready to join in repelling the attack. The partisans of the Medici, some of whom had given sufficient indications of their designs, were seized upon, and committed to safe custody; insomuch, that when the Medici arrived under the walls, instead of finding their friends ready to receive them, they discovered, that every measure had been taken for resistance. ⁹

Being

⁹ Nardi informs us, that this attempt was made on the twenty-eighth day of April, 1497. According to the same author, Piero de' Medici approached so near to the city walls, as to be seen by the inhabitants; who came in throngs, as to a spectacle, to take a view of him and his associates,

CHAP. Being thus disappointed in their expectation of
v. succeeding in their enterprise, by the aid of their
 1497. accomplices within the city, they deliberated
 Et. 22. whether they should attack the gates, and endeavour to carry the place by storm ; but, after a consultation of four hours, they concluded that their force was not equal to the undertaking. Bending their course, therefore, towards the papal dominions, d'Alveano and his military associates endeavoured to recompense themselves for their disappointment, by plundering the inhabitants ;
 whilst

associates, but gave no demonstrations of attachment to his cause. He remained there about two hours ; and being molested by the small arms from the fortress, was obliged to take shelter behind the wall of one of the fountains in the suburbs of the city. This historian, who was a great admirer of Savonarola, gives a singular instance of the folly of the magistrates, and of his own credulity, in relating, that Girolamo Benivieni, the celebrated Florentine poet, who was himself a warm enthusiast, was despatched to consult Savonarola, on the event of the attempt made by Piero de' Medici, which had occasioned the magistrates great alarm : When Savonarola, who was engaged in reading, raised his head, and said to Benivieni—" *Modice fidei, quare dubitasti ?* Know you not that God is with you ? Go, and inform the magistrates from me, that I shall pray to God for the city, and that they may entertain no fears ; for Piero de' Medici will come as far as the gates, and will return without having effected any thing." " And so" says the historian, " it proved." *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. ii. p. 37.*

whilst Piero and his brother Giuliano retired in haste to Siena.

C H A P.
V.

1497.

Æt. 22.

This affair did not, however, terminate without bloodshed. No sooner were the prevailing party within the walls apprized of the retreat of the Medici, and the object of their visit, than they instituted a strict inquiry as to the authors and abettors of the undertaking; in consequence of which, four of the principal citizens, Nicolo Ridolfi, Lorenzo Tornabuoni, Giannozzo Pucci, and Giovanni Cambi, were found to be implicated in the conspiracy, and were condemned to death.^r Bernardo del Nero,

Fatal consequences to the partisans of the Medici within the city.

^r To Lorenzo Tornabuoni, who was nearly related to the Medici, Politiano had inscribed, in terms of warm commendation, his *Sylva*, entitled *Ambra*; at the same time applauding him for his proficiency in the Greek language, and exhorting him to persevere in the study of it. His untimely death is lamented in a Sonnet of Bernardo Accolti, called *L'Unico Aretino*:

“ Io che già fu tesor de la natura,
 “ Con man legatè, scinto, e scalzo vegno
 “ A porre il giovin collo al duro legno,
 “ E ricever vil paglia in sepoltura.
 “ Pigli exemplo di me chi s’assicura
 “ In potentia mortal, fortuna, o regno;
 “ Che spesso viene al mondo, al cielo, a sdegno
 “ Chi la felicità sua non misura.
 “ E tu che levi a me gemme, e tesoro,
 “ La consorte, i figlioli, la vita mesta;
 “ Che

CHAP. Nero, the *gonfaloniere*, accused of having been
 V. privy to their proceedings without disclosing them,
 1497. was adjudged to a similar fate. The persons thus
 Et. 22. condemned, appealed to the *consiglio grande*, or
 general assembly of the people, in conformity to
 a late regulation in the constitution, introduced by
 the *frateschi*; but the promoters of this salutary
 law were the first to infringe it, and the convenient
 pretexts of publick danger and state necessity,
 were alleged by the adherents of Savonarola, as
 sufficient justifications for carrying the sentence
 into immediate execution.* The inhabitants of
 Florence, unaccustomed for a long course of years,
 to see the political errors of their fellow citizens
 punished with such sanguinary severity, derived
 from this transaction additional motives of dissatisfaction;
 and the death of these citizens, who,
 whether guilty or not of the crime laid to their
 charge, were condemned contrary to the established
 forms of law, was soon afterwards avenged by
 the

“ Che più poi troverrei un Turco, un Mauro !

“ Fammi una grazia almen, turba molesta,

“ A colei, cui tanto amo, in piatto d’auro,

“ Fa presentar la mia tagliata testa.”

Opere d’Accolti. Ed. Fir. 1514.

• “ E quel condusse in su le vostre mura

“ Il vostro *gran ribello*, onde ne nacque,

“ Di cinque cittadini la sepolturo.”

Macchiavel. Decennale, 1.

the slaughter of those who had been most active in their destruction. C H A P.

V.

1497.

Æt. 22.

Paolo Vitelli
appointed
general of the
Florentines.

The siege of Pisa still continued to increase in importance, and to augment the number of the contending parties. In favour of the inhabitants, the duke of Urbino, who had purchased his liberty at the expense of thirty thousand ducats, d'Alveano, his late adversary, Paolo Orsini, As-torre Baglioni, and several other commanders of independent bodies of troops took the field, having been engaged in the cause principally by the wealth and credit of the Venetians: and the command of the whole was intrusted to the marquis of Mantua. The ardour of the Florentines kept pace with that of their enemies. They raised a considerable body of troops within the Tuscan territories; several experienced commanders joined their standard. Paolo Vitelli, who had already rendered many important services to the republick, was appointed chief general, and the *bastone*, or emblem of command, was delivered to him with great solemnity, on a day fixed upon for that purpose, by the rules of astrology. On this occasion all the astrologers in the city, who it seems formed a numerous body, were assembled in the great court of the palace; and whilst one, who was in the immediate service of Vitelli, with the rest of his fraternity, waited with the instruments in their hands to observe the *felice punto*, or fortunate moment, Marcello Virgilio, chancellor of the republick, delivered an

CHAP. oration before the magistrates in honour of their
 V. general; when, on a sign being given by the per-
 1497. son appointed for that purpose, the orator instantly
 Et. 22. concluded his speech, and Vitelli, on his knees,
 received from the *gonfaloniere* the emblem of his
 authority, amidst the sound of trumpets, and the
 plaudits of the populace.^c At the same time the
Madonna dell' Imprimata was carried through the
 city in a ceremonial procession; a measure which
 we are told had never been resorted to at Florence
 without manifest advantage.^d

The Floren-
 tines form an
 alliance with
 Lodovico
 Sforza.

Whilst the adverse parties were thus preparing
 for a decisive contest, the inhabitants of Pisa
 despatched a body of troops, consisting of seven
 hundred horse and one thousand foot, to levy
 contributions upon, or to plunder the inhabitants
 of the district of Volterra. Returning with a con-
 siderable booty, they were attacked in the valley
 of S. Regolo by a party of the Florentines, under
 the command of the count Rinuccio, and being
 thrown into disorder, were on the point of relin-
 quishing their spoil; when a fresh body of horse
 arriving from Pisa changed the fortune of the day,
 and the greater part of the Florentine detachment
 was either slaughtered or made prisoners. This
 disaster was severely felt by the Florentines, who
 now

^c Nardi, *Hist. Fior.* lib. iii. p. 53.

^d *Ammirato, Hist. Fior.* v. iii. p. 254.

now began to apprehend, that unless they could detach some of their adversaries from the alliance formed against them, they might eventually, not only fail in their attempt to recover the city of Pisa, but might so far exhaust their strength, as to become themselves a prey to the ambition of their enemies. Of these, the most formidable were the Venetians, who were then in the zenith of their power, and had given decisive proofs of their intentions to extend their dominion into the southern provinces of Italy. In this exigency, the Florentines had recourse to Lodovico Sforza, who, by having so frequently changed the object of his political pursuit, afforded them some hopes, that he might not refuse to listen to their representations. Nor were they mistaken in this opinion. Lodovico heard, with attention, the arguments by which they endeavoured to convince him, that in affording assistance to the inhabitants of Pisa, he was only acting a subsidiary part to the republic of Venice, which was already too powerful for the other states of Italy, and would, by the acquisition of Pisa and its territory, become highly formidable, even to Lodovico himself. Induced by these, and similar motives, and actuated by that instability which characterized the whole of his conduct, Lodovico entered into the proposed treaty; and it was agreed between the parties, that in order to avail themselves of it to greater advantage, no external demonstration of it should immediately take place, but that Lodovico should take
advantage

CHAP.

V.

1497.

Æt. 22.

C H A P. advantage of such opportunity of withdrawing his
V. troops, as should appear to be most for the interest
 1498. of his new allies.^v
 Æt. 23.

Death of
 Charles VIII.
 and accession
 of Louis XII.

From the time of the return of Charles VIII. to his own dominions, the Italian states had been kept in continual alarm, by rumours of great preparations, said to be making, for another and more powerful descent upon the kingdom of Naples; but these apprehensions were suddenly dispelled by the death of that monarch, occasioned by an apoplexy, whilst he was amusing himself by the game of tennis, at the castle of Amboise, in the month of April, 1498. The exultation of the Italians on this event, was not, however, well founded, and it is probable that the death of the king, instead of being favourable to their repose, was the occasion of their being exposed to still greater calamities. Charles had little pretensions, either in body or in mind, to the character of a hero. He had made a hazardous attempt, from the consequences of which he had been extricated with difficulty; and there was no great probability that he would have exposed himself to the dangers of a second expedition. The longer continuance of his life would therefore have prevented, or postponed, the hostile efforts of his bolder and more active successour. This successour was Louis, duke

^v Guicciard. *Storia d'Ital. lib. iv. l. 195.*

duke of Orleans, cousin to Charles in the fourth degree, who, under the name of Louis XII. assumed the crown, without opposition, and immediately after his accession, gave a striking proof of his intentions, by taking the additional titles of duke of Milan, and king of the two Sicilies. No sooner had he ascended the throne, than he found a pretext for divorcing his wife, the daughter of Louis XI. who, as he alleged, was so devoid of personal attractions, and of so sickly a constitution, that he had no hopes of progeny from her, and chose in her stead, Anne of Bretagne, the widow of his predecessor, Charles VIII. who is supposed to have been the object of his affection before her former marriage. As the dispensation of the pope was requisite for this union, Alexander VI. was happy in so favourable an opportunity of gratifying the wishes of the new sovereign; but the king was too impatient to wait the return of his ambassador, and presuming on the success of his mission, celebrated the marriage before the necessary formalities for his divorce had been expedited from Rome. This irregularity was, however, readily pardoned, and Cesar Borgia, who had now divested himself of the rank of cardinal, was deputed to carry to France the dispensation, which was accompanied by the hat of a cardinal for George of Amboise, archbishop of Rouen. The magnificence displayed by Cesar on this embassy, far exceeded that of royalty itself; and the king remunerated his services, by conferring on him the title

C H A P.
V.
1498.
Æt. 23.

CHAP. of duke of Valentinois, in Dauphiny, and by a
V. grant of the annual sum of twenty thousand livres;
1498. to which was also added, the promise of a territorial
Æt. 23. possession in the Milanese, as soon as the king
 should have completed the conquest of that coun-
 try.* About the same time, Lucrezia, the daugh-
 ter of the pontiff, was divorced from her husband,
 Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, and married to
 Alfonso of Aragon, a natural son of Alfonso II.
 late king of Naples.

Death of Sa-
 vonarola.

Ever since the brothers of the Medici had been
 compelled to quit their native place, the Floren-
 tines had exhibited a striking instance of the effects
 of fanaticism, in debasing both the intellectual and
 moral powers of the mind. Absurd and blasphe-
 mous pretensions to the peculiar favour of heaven,
 to the power of working miracles, and of predict-
 ing future events, were asserted by Savonarola and
 his followers, who attempted to establish the reign
 of Jesus Christ, as it was impiously called, by acts
 of violence and bloodshed. This sudden depres-
 sion

* *Guicciard. lib. iv. l. 207.* On this occasion Cesar is
 supposed to have carried with him an immense treasure,
 and even the horses of his attendants are said to have been
 shod with silver. His magnificent entrance into Chinon,
 is described by Brantome. *Mem. v. 227. Ed. Leyde, 1722.*
Gordon's Life of Alex. VI. p. 180. The divorce of Louis XII.
 and his marriage contract with Anne of Bretagne, appear
 in the collection of Du Mont, *vol. iii. p. 2. pp. 404, 405.*

sion occasioned, however, as sudden a reverse. CHAP.
 No sooner were the Florentines convinced of the v.
 fraudulent practices of their pretended prophet, 1498.
 than they satiated their resentment by the destruc- Æt. 23.
 tion of the man who had so long been the object
 of their admiration, after which they committed
 his body, together with those of two of his asso-
 ciates, to the flames, and scattered their ashes in
 the river Arno.* Respecting the character of Sa-
 vonarola,

* This circumstance is adverted to in the following sonnet, prefixed to an Italian translation in MS. of the life of Savonarola, from the Latin of Giovan-Francesco Pico, one of his warmest admirers. At the close of the work is a large collection of miracles, attributed to this extraordinary and unfortunate man. The person referred to under the name of *Il Tiranno*, is undoubtedly Piero de' Medici :—

“ Alma città, che al fuoco, al onda,
 “ Vedesti in preda i tre martiri eletti,
 “ E tra le pene acerbe, e tra dispetti,
 “ Lieti insieme provar morte gioconda,
 “ Godi, che d’ogni ben tosto feconda
 “ Ti mostran di profeti i santi detti ;
 “ E tu, che sei regina de’ profeti,
 “ Ove il fallo abondò, la grazia abonda.
 “ Il tuo ricco, onorato, altiero fiume,
 “ Che si nasconde il gran tesoro in seno,
 “ Di quel sacro divin cenere sparso,
 “ Vedrà morto *il Tiranno*, spento ed arso
 “ Ogn’ infidel, e’l vizio venir meno,
 “ Ed apparir nuova luce, e nuovo lume.”

For the particulars of the catastrophe of Savonarola, see *Life of Lor. de’ Medici*, vol. ii. p. 269.

C H A P. vonarola, a great diversity of opinions has arisen,
V. as well in subsequent times, as in his own ; and
 1498. whilst some have considered him as a saint and a
 Æt. 23. martyr, others have stigmatized him as an impostor
 and a demagogue. It requires not, however, any
 great discernment to perceive, that Savonarola
 united in himself those exact proportions of kna-
 very, talents, folly, and learning, which, combined
 with the insanity of superstition, compose the cha-
 racter of a fanatick ; the motives and consequences
 of whose conduct, are perhaps no less obscure and
 inexplicable to himself, than they are to the rest of
 mankind.

Vitelli cap-
 tures the for-
 tress of Vico
 Pisano.

The secret treaty between Lodovico Sforza and
 the state of Florence, was much more detrimental
 to the Venetians, than it would have been if pub-
 licly avowed. By his solicitations, several of the
 Italian leaders, who had engaged in the defence of
 Pisa, were induced to enter into the service of the
 Florentines ; and the army of the republick, under
 the command of Paolo Vitelli, at length took the
 field, with a considerable body of horse, and a
 powerful train of artillery. Having hastily passed
 the Arno, Vitelli first bombarded the castle of
 Buti, where the Venetians attempted to oppose his
 progress. This place he carried by assault on the
 second day. Thence he proceeded towards Pisa,
 and having stationed several bodies of troops in the
 vicinity, so as to prevent the approach of supplies
 to the city, he turned his artillery against Vico
 Pisano,

Pisano, a fortress in the neighbourhood of Pisa, where, having made a breach in the walls, he compelled the garrison to capitulate, and proceeded by regular approaches, to reduce the city to submission.⁷

C H A P.

V.

1498.

Æt. 23.

Third attempt of the Medici to regain their native place.

In the mean time the exiled brothers of the Medici, conceiving that another opportunity was now afforded them for attempting the recovery of Florence, requested the Venetian senate to admit them as associates in the war; representing to them, the practicability of sending a body of troops through the passes of the Appenines, where they would be joined by the numerous friends of the Medici in that quarter, by whose assistance they might attack the city before it could be provided with the means of defence. The Venetians, at this time closely pressed by Vitelli, willingly accepted the offer; and a large body of infantry was immediately collected, the command of which was given to the duke of Urbino and Astorre Baglioni, of Perugia. Piero de' Medici, with his brother Giuliano, and his cousin Giulio, having united their troops with those of Bartolommeo d'Alveano and Carlo Orsino, joined the Venetians in the Val de Lamone, and possessed themselves of the small town of Marra. They soon, however, found themselves

⁷ Guicciard. *Storia d'Ital.* lib. iv. 1. 199.

CHAPTER. selves opposed by the Florentines, with whom
V. Lodovico Sforza had now united his arms; but

1498. the duke of Urbino pressed forwards, and having

Æt. 23. captured the town of Bibbiena, descended into the sterile district of Casentino, through which the Arno continues its course to Florence; and, although his operations were retarded no less by the severity of the weather, than by the efforts of his enemies, his approach filled the inhabitants of Florence with consternation. They, therefore, directed their commander Vitelli to fortify, in the best manner he could, the places which he had occupied near Pisa, and to proceed immediately to oppose the Medici, in Casentino. The courage and experience of the duke of Urbino, and the ardour and rapidity of d'Alveano, were opposed by the vigilance and caution of Vitelli. With inconceivable industry he fortified the passes by which alone the troops of the Medici could approach; he restrained their excursions on every side; he weakened their forces in various skirmishes, and harassed them by cutting off their supplies. Unable either to procure subsistence, or to change the situation of their troops, the Venetian commissaries, with the brothers of the Medici, secretly deserted their army, and fled for safety to the town of Bibbiena. The soldiers themselves were compelled to undergo that last of all military disgraces the compulsory surrender of their arms; after which they were permitted by their conquerors to retire, dejected, emaciated, and disgraced,

graced, to their own country. It was probably on this disastrous event, that the anguish of Piero de' Medici burst forth in the following sonnet;* which, although incorrect and unpolished, may be considered as the genuine expression of his feelings.

C H A P.
V.
1498.
Æt. 23.

SONNET.

When all my sorrows past I call to mind,
And what I am, with what I was compare;
No more allowed those dear delights to share,
Alone to thee, my native spot, confined,

Tears

* This production is now first printed from the original, in the Laurentian library; which appears there in a very rude and imperfect state:

SONETTO.

“ Non posso far che gli occhi non m’inacqui,
“ Pensando quel ch’io sono, e quel ch’io ero;
“ D’aver diletto mai più non spero
“ In alcun nido com’ in quel ch’io nacqui.
“ Per certo ch’a fortuna troppo spiacqui,
“ E chi’l cognosca credi che’l sia ’l vero;
“ Sofert’ ho in pace, e già non mi dispero,
“ Con tutto che con l’ira il viso *imbiacqui*.
“ Io m’assomiglio al legno in alto mare,
“ Che per fortuna l’arbore sta torto,
“ Cangio le vele e sto per annegare.
“ Se non perisco ancor, guignerò in porto.
“ Fortuna sa quel ch’ella sa ben fare,
“ Sana in un punto chi è quasi morto.
“ Io son fuor del mio orto,
“ Dice il proverbio; odi parola adorna
“ Che chi non muor qualche volta ritorna.”

C H A P. Tears dim my eyes. Yet though with looks unkind
 V. Vindictive fortune still pursues me near,

 1498. Firm as I may her injuries I bear ;
 Æt. 23. In spirit ardent, but with heart resigned
 Like some storm-beaten bark, that o'er the deep
 Dismantled drives, the sport of every blast,
 I speed my way, and hourly wait my doom.
 Yet when I trace the many dangers past,
 Hope still survives ; my destined course I keep,
 And trust to fate for happier hours to come.

The contest
 respecting
 Pisa submit-
 ted to the
 decision of
 Ercole, duke
 of Ferrara.

During the contest respecting the city of Pisa, the Florentines had at various times made overtures to the Venetians and their allies, for compromising the differences to which it had given rise ; but the senate, conscious of their superiority, and desirous of reducing the territory of Pisa under their own dominion, had, under various pretexts, refused to listen to any terms of pacification. The disgraceful defeat of their troops in Casentino, and the vigour with which Vitelli carried on the siege of Pisa, at length induced them to relax in their pretensions ; and, by the intervention of Lodovico Sforza, it was, after long negotiation, agreed, that all differences between the contending parties should be finally decided by Ercole, duke of Ferrara. Having undertaken the office of mediator, and heard the various representations of the different envoys, he published his determination on the sixth day of April, 1499 ; by which he ordered, that the Venetians should immediately withdraw their troops from the Florentine and Pisan territories. That the Florentines should pay to them

them one hundred and eighty thousand ducats, by C H A P.
 stated payments of fifteen thousand in each year, V.
 as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; and .1499.
 that the city of Pisa should return to its obedience Æt. 24.
 to Florence, under certain restrictions, by which
 the administration of justice, both criminal and
 civil, and the publick revenue of the state, were
 secured to the inhabitants.*

This determination, instead of reconciling the His interfe-
 contending parties, was received with disapproba- rence ineffec-
 tion by all. The Venetians, disappointed in those tual.
 views of aggrandizement with which they had
 entered into the war, considered the payment of
 an annual sum as no alleviation of their vexation
 and disgrace. The Florentines murmured, that
 after the enormous expenses which they had alrea-
 dy sustained in the defence of their long established
 rights, they should be compelled to reimburse
 the Venetians to so large an amount; whilst their
 dominion over the city and territory of Pisa was
 mutilated and restricted, so that they could not
 indemnify themselves in that quarter for any part
 of their expenditure. But above all, the citizens
 of Pisa exclaimed against the decision of the duke;
 which they contended, would in effect, deliver
 them once more into the absolute power of their
 oppressors, who would soon find a pretext to de-
 prive

* Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital.* lib. iv. 1. 220.

C H A P. **v.** **1499.** **Æt. 24.** prive them of their immunities, and to reduce them to the same disgraceful state of vassalage, under which they had so long laboured. It was to no purpose, that the duke attempted, by an additional decree, to obviate these objections. The continuance of the war was resolved upon; and measures were resorted to for the renewal of hostilities, with greater violence than before.^b

The inhabitants of Pisa resolve to defend themselves.

In some respects, however, the contest took a different aspect. From some indications in the course of the treaty, the citizens of Pisa began to suspect, that the Venetians might at length accommodate their differences with the Florentines, and that their city might be considered as the price of reconciliation; whilst the Venetians, affecting to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the inhabitants, withdrew their troops from the defence of the city, for the purpose, in fact, of securing the possession of such parts of the territory as they might be enabled to occupy. The citizens saw, without regret, the departure of their doubtful allies; and with the aid of a few mercenaries, who had been introduced within the walls by the Venetians, and who had agreed to join in their defence, they resolved to maintain their independence to the last extremity.^c The walls of Pisa were of uncommon

^b Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital.* lib. iv. 1. 220.

^c *Ibid.* p. 221.

mon strength. The fortresses were well provided and garrisoned. The inhabitants were numerous and courageous; many of them were respectable by their rank and talents; and an unremitting warfare of several years, had habituated them to military fatigues. Above all, their aversion to the government of the Florentines was inextinguishable; and this sentiment alone would have supplied every deficiency.

C H A P.
V.
1499.
Æt. 24.

On the other hand the Florentines lost no time in availing themselves of the successes which they had already obtained. Besides a considerable body of horse, their army was now increased to ten thousand foot; with which, and the aid of twenty large pieces of artillery, Vitelli attacked the fortress of Stampace, on which the citizens of Pisa chiefly relied for the defence of the city. The exertions of the besieged to repair the breaches, although both sexes, and all descriptions of persons united in the labour, were ineffectual, and an unremitting cannonade of ten days, at length levelled a great part of the walls. Of those engaged in the defence, many were slaughtered; the rest took refuge in the city, and were closely pursued by the Florentine troops, who at that moment might in all probability have possessed themselves of the prize for which they had so long contended. Vitelli, however, either did not perceive, or did not choose to avail himself of the opportunity afforded him for terminating the war. Satisfied with

Vitelli effects a breach in the walls, but neglects to avail himself of his advantages.

C H A P. with the success of the day, in the acquisition of
V. the fortress, and conceiving that the city would
1499. now become an easy prey, he restrained the ardour
Æt. 24. of the soldiery, and allowed the inhabitants to
recover from their panick. But although Vitelli
had omitted to storm the city, he persevered with
the utmost vigilance in such measures as were
most likely to compel the inhabitants to surrender;
and, in the various means which he adopted for
reducing the place, gave striking proofs of those
abilities, by which he had obtained his military
reputation. The constant use of artillery had
again effected a breach in the walls; the soldiers,
inflamed with the hopes of plunder, were earnest
for the attack; the Florentine commissaries remon-
strated with Vitelli on the injudicious and danger-
ous delays which he manifested in all his proceed-
ings, and a time was at length fixed upon for
storming the place, which it was agreed should be
the twenty-fourth day of August. But, whilst the
fruits of his labours were thus ripening, and seem-
ed only to court his hand, a sudden blight deprived
Vitelli of his expected prize. The low and mar-
shy district in the vicinity of Pisa, had combined
with the slaughter of the soldiery, to occasion a
pestilential distemper in the Florentine camp, which
in the course of a few days, made so rapid a pro-
gress, that at the time appointed, a sufficient
number of troops could not be collected to pro-
ceed to the attack. Fresh levies of soldiers were
poured in by the Florentines; but the destructive
malignity

malignity of the disorder, destroyed them more rapidly than they could be replaced.^d Smitten, like the Greeks before Troy, by an invisible hand, the Florentine troops were compelled to abandon their enterprise, in order to secure a retreat, before the further progress of the disease should so far debilitate them, as to render them an easy conquest to the exasperated and vindictive inhabitants. Vitelli therefore embarked his artillery on the Arno, for the purpose of conveying it to Leghorn; but by an unfortunate fatality, the greater part of it fell into the hands of the enemy. Quitting, with the remainder of his troops, the contagious precincts of Pisa, he proceeded through the Via Marrana towards Cascina. On his arrival at this place, he was met by a deputation from the citizens of Florence, by whom he was made a prisoner and conducted to that city, where he was put to the torture, for the purpose of inducing him to confess that he had conducted himself with treachery towards the republick. Among other charges against him, it was alleged, that he had held an interview with the Medici in the war of Casentino, and that he had

CHAP.
V.
1499.
Æt. 24.

Vitelli
brought to
Florence and
decapitated.

^d Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital.* lib. iv. 1. 235. Muratori *Annali d' Ital.* ix. 597. Macchiavelli also alludes to this circumstance in his first *Decennale* :

“Lungo sarebbe narrar tutti i torti,
“Tutti gl' inganni corsi in quell' assedio,
“E tutti i cittadin, per febbre morti.”

CHAP. had intentionally suffered them to escape, although
 V. he had it in his power to have sent them prisoners
 1499. to Florence, to have received the due reward of
 Et. 24. their rebellion against their country. His conduct
 before Pisa was, however, a still more grievous
 cause of offence; and although no acknowledg-
 ment of either guilt or error could be obtained
 from him, he was ordered to be decapitated; and
 the sentence was on the same night carried into
 effect.* His brother Vitellozzo, although at that
 time labouring under sickness, had the good
 fortune to effect his escape, and fled to Pisa,
 with as many of his followers as he could pre-
 vail upon to accompany him. He was received
 with

* *Nardi, Commentarii. lib. iv. p. 84.* The unhappy fate
 of Vitelli is commemorated by Ant. Fr. Ranieri, in the
 following, not inelegant, lines:

“ Urbis ut ingrata scelus, et victricia Pauli
 “ Auduit immitti colla resecta manu,
 “ Scipiadam major, tua quid benefacta, Vitelli,
 “ Quid valere mea? ah, dixit et ingemuit.

Nardi informs us, that although no charge, but that of
 disobedience, could be proved against Vitelli, before his
 execution, many of his letters were afterwards discovered,
 which manifested his treachery. *Hist. Fior. lib. iii. p. 61.*
 This mode of executing a person first, and obtaining the
 proofs of his guilt afterwards, is not greatly to be com-
 mended, and affords too much reason to conjecture, that
 the documents were fabricated, for the purpose of justifying
 an act of odious and illegal severity.

with great exultation by the inhabitants, who by their own resolution, and a fortunate concurrence of events, were at length freed from their adversaries, and once more indulged themselves in the hope of establishing the ancient independence of their republick.

C H A P.
V.
1499.
Æt. 24.



CHAP. VI.

1499—1503.

LOUIS XII. resolves to attempt the conquest of Milan and Naples—Forms an alliance with Alexander VI. and the Venetians—The cardinal de' Medici quits Italy—Travels through various parts of Europe—Louis XII. possesses himself of the dutchy of Milan—Cesar Borgia attacks the cities of Romagna—Imprisonment and death of Lodovico Sforza—The cardinal de' Medici arrives at Rome—The Florentines again attack Pisa—Cesar Borgia perseveres in his hostilities against the Italian states—The Medici attempt a fourth time to effect their return to Florence—Cesar Borgia threatens that city—Treacherous combination between Louis XII. and Ferdinand of Spain—Federigo king of Naples is deprived of his dominions—He retires to France—Gonsalvo betrays the young duke of Calabria—Cesar Borgia captures the states of Piombino, Camerino, and Urbino—Pietro Soderini preserves Florence from the attacks of Borgia—Is appointed Gonfaloniere for life—Alliance between Cesar Borgia and Louis XII.—The Italian nobles oppose the proceedings of Borgia—Several of them treacherously put to death by him at Sinigaglia—He seizes on their territories—Death of Alexander VI.—Remarks on his character and conduct.

WHILST Italy continued to be thus agitated by internal commotions, another storm was gathering beyond the Alps, which soon burst with additional violence on that unhappy country. The attack of Charles

CHAP.
VI.
1499.
Æt 24.

C H A P. Charles VIII. upon the kingdom of Naples was
VI. the effect of a puerile ambition; but Louis XII.
1499. was a courageous and a politick prince; and the
Æt. 24. personal experience which he had acquired during
 the expedition of Charles VIII. in which he had
 himself born a principal part, rendered him
 a still more dangerous enemy. After having
 openly asserted his pretensions to the crown of Na-
 ples, and the states of Milan, he began to nego-
 tiate with the other powers of Europe, and in par-
 ticular with the Italian governments, for their
 assistance or neutrality in the approaching contest.

Louis XII.
 resolves to
 attempt the
 conquest of
 Milan and
 Naples.

Forms an al-
 liance with
 Alexander
 VI. and the
 republick of
 Venice.

In gaining over Alexander VI. to his interests he found but little difficulty. That ambitious pon-
 tiff, incessantly aiming at the exaltation of his family,
 and desirous, beyond measure, of establishing his
 authority in the kingdom of Naples, where he had
 already obtained considerable influence, had pro-
 posed to Federigo the marriage of Cesar Borgia
 with one of his daughters, whose dowry he ex-
 pected should be the extensive principality of Ta-
 rentum. This union was, however, rejected in
 the most decisive terms by Federigo; who, although
 he was not ignorant that his refusal would draw
 down upon him the resentment of the pontiff, chose
 rather to abide its consequences, than assent to an
 alliance, which he considered as still more danger-
 ous. Thus disappointed in the hopes of aggran-
 dizement, which he had so warmly cherished
 from this quarter, Alexander was prepared for any
 propositions

propositions from the French monarch, which might enable him to gratify his resentment against the king of Naples. A reciprocation of favours had already commenced between Louis XII. and the pope, by which both parties had been highly gratified; and this connexion was speedily strengthened by the marriage of Cesar Borgia with Carlotta, daughter of John D'Albret, king of Navarre, and nearly related to Louis XII. and by the promotion of the brother of that princess to the purple. The marriage took place on the twelfth day of May, 1499; and from this period Alexander considered himself as devoted to the interests of France, and was ready to employ both his spiritual and temporal arms in her service.^a The Venetians, disgusted with

CHAP.

VI.

1499.

Æt. 24.

^a When the news of the marriage of Cesar Borgia, and of his being honoured by Louis XII. with the order of St. Michael, was received at Rome, great rejoicings took place; which, if we may believe Burchard, were conducted in a manner highly discreditable to the pontiff and the apostolick see. "Feria quinta vigesima tertia Maii, venit cursor ex Francia, qui nunciavit Sanctissimo Domino nostro Cæsarem Valentinum Ducem filium suum, olim cardinalem, contraxisse matrimonium cum magnifica Domina de Allebretto, a die præsentis mensis; et illud Dominica duodecima ejusdem consummasse. * * *

" * * Venit alius annuncians quòd in die pentecostes nona decima hujus, Rex Franciæ assumpsit Ducem prædictum in confratrem confraternitatis Sancti Michaelis, quæ est regia et magni honoris. Fuerant propterea ex mandato Pontificis facti multi ignes per urbem in signum lætitiæ;

C H A P. With the irresolute and treacherous conduct of Lo-
VI. dovico Sforza, had already been induced by the
 1499. promise of being put into possession of the city of
Art. 24. Cremona, and the district of Ghiaradadda, to enter
 into a league with Louis XII. to assist him in the
 recovery of Milan, in which a power was reserved
 to Alexander VI. to become a party.^b Of this
 privilege the pope soon afterwards availed himself;
 having first stipulated, among other articles, that
 the states of Imola, Forli, Faenza, and Pesaro,
 then under the government of their respective
 lords, should be conquered by the arms of the
 allies, and united under the sole dominion of Cesar
 Borgia.

The cardinal
 de' Medici
 quits Italy,
 and travels
 through va-
 rious parts of
 Europe.

These portentous transactions were not regarded
 with an inattentive eye by the cardinal de' Medici.
 He had now attempted, in conjunction with his
 brothers, at three different times, to effect the re-
 storation of his family to their native place. The
 ill fortune or misconduct of Piero had defeated
 all their endeavours, and every new attempt had
 only served to increase the violence of their ene-
 mies,

"lætitiæ ; sed in magnum dedecus et verecundiam Sanctis-
 simi Domini nostri, et ejus sanctæ sedis." *Burchard.*
Diar. v. Appendix to Gordon's Life of Alexander VI.

^b This treaty, formed at Blois, and bearing date the
 fifteenth day of April, 1499, is given in the Corps Diplo-
 matique of Dumont. *v. iii. par. ii. p. 406.*

mies, and to bar the gates of Florence more firmly against them. During five years he had been compelled to avail himself successively of the protection of the ancient friends of his family, in different parts of Italy; but as the hopes of his restoration to Florence diminished, he began to be regarded as an exile and a fugitive, and in the approaching disturbances of Italy, it was not easy to determine in what part he might find a secure asylum. The city of Rome, which ought to have afforded him a safe and honourable residence, was rendered irksome to him by the vices, and dangerous by the animosity of the pontiff; whilst the Florentines, in order to secure themselves during the approaching commotions, had acceded to the league with France, and thereby cut off from the Medici all hopes of deriving assistance from that power on which they had hitherto relied. Impelled by these circumstances, and perhaps also actuated by the laudable desire of visiting foreign countries, the cardinal determined to quit Italy, and to pass some portion of his time in traversing the principal kingdoms of Europe, till events might arise more favourable to his views. ^c

C H A P.

VI.

1499.

Æt. 24.

This design he communicated to his cousin Giulio de' Medici, and it was agreed to form a party

^c *Ammirato, Ritratti d'huomini illustri di Casa Medici. Opusc. vol. iii. p. 66.*

G. H. A. P. party of twelve friends; a number which they con-
 sidered sufficiently large for their mutual security
 VI. in the common incidents of a journey, and too
 1499. small to afford any cause of alarm. Discarding,
 Et. 24. therefore, the insignia of their rank, and equipping
 themselves in a uniform manner, they passed
 through the states of Venice, and visited most of
 the principal cities of Germany; assuming in turn
 the command of their troop, and partaking of all
 the amusements afforded by continual change of
 place, and the various manners of the inhabitants.
 On their arrival at Ulm, their singular appearance
 occasioned their being detained by the magistrates;
 but, on their disclosing their quality and purpose,
 they were sent under a guard to the emperor
 Maximilian, who received the cardinal with that
 respect and attention, to which, from the celebrity
 of his ancestors, and his high rank in the church,
 he was so well entitled. Far from interrupting
 their progress, Maximilian highly commended the
 magnanimity of the cardinal in bearing his adverse
 fortune with patience; and his judgment and pru-
 dence, in applying to the purposes of useful infor-
 mation, that portion of his time, of which he could
 not now dispose to better advantage. Besides fur-
 nishing him with an honourable passport through
 the German states, Maximilian gave him letters to
 his son Philip, then governour of the low countries;
 recommending the cardinal and his companions to
 his protection and favour. After having passed a
 considerable time in Germany, the associated
 friends

friends proceeded to Flanders; where they were received by Philip, not only with hospitality, but with magnificence. The cardinal then intended to have taken shipping, and proceeded to England; but the danger of the voyage deterred his friends from the undertaking; and at their entreaties, he relinquished his design.^d They, therefore, bent their course towards France. On their arrival at Rouen they were again seized upon, and detained in custody; and, although the cardinal, and his cousin Giulio, made an immediate discovery of their rank, and represented the object of their journey to be totally unconnected with political concerns; yet, in the state of hostility that had then commenced between the kings of France and of Naples, there appeared to be too much ground for suspicion, to admit of their being speedily released; nor was it until letters were obtained from Piero de' Medici, then in the French camp at Milan, that they were enabled to procure their discharge. Having again obtained their liberty, they proceeded through France, visiting every place deserving of notice, and examining whatever was remarkable, till they arrived at Marseilles; where

CHAP.
VI.
1499.
Æt. 24.

^d “ Dal qual finalmente partendo, à Terrovana su l’
“ oceano si condusse; con pensiero di veder Inghilterra,
“ se da compagni non fosse stato dissuaso; paurosi oltre
“ modo de’ flutti di quel vasto e profondissimo mare.”
Ammir. Ritratti, in Opusc. vol. iii. p. 66.

CHAP. after a short stay, they determined to proceed by
 VI. sea immediately to Rome. The winds being,
 1499. however, unfavourable, they were compelled to
 Et. 24. coast the Riviera of Genoa, where having been
 driven on shore, they thought it advisable to re-
 linquish their voyage, and to proceed by land to
 Savona. On their arrival at this place, they met
 with the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, who had
 fled thither to avoid the resentment of Alexander
 VI. A common enmity to that profligate pontiff,
 and a similarity of misfortunes, rendered their
 meeting interesting: and three refugees sat at the
 same table, all of whom were afterwards elevated
 to the highest dignity in the christian world.
 The two cousins of the Medici gave an account of
 the objects which they had met with on their
 journey; and related the difficulties which they had
 surmounted by land, and the dangers which they
 had encountered by sea. The cardinal della Ro-
 vere recapitulated in his turn, the events which
 had taken place in Italy since their departure, and
 in which they were so deeply interested. From
 Savona the cardinal de Medici repaired to Genoa,
 where for some time he took up his residence with
 his sister, Madalena, the wife of Francesco Cibò,
 who had fixed upon that city as the place of his
 permanent abode, ^c

During

^c *Ammir. Ritratti, Opusc. vol. iii p. 66.*

During the absence of the cardinal from Rome, C H A P. VI.
 a very considerable change had taken place in the 1499.
 political state of Italy. The French army under Æt. 24.
 the command of d'Aubigny had crossed the Alps; and, forming a junction with the troops of Gian-
 Giacopo Trivulzio, who had now obtained the rank of marshal of France, occupied several of the
 principal towns in the Milanese, and at length captured and sacked the capital. It was not without difficulty that Lodovico Sforza effected his escape into the Tyrol. Louis XII. informed of the success of his arms, hastened to Milan, which he entered as sovereign on the sixth day of October, 1499, amidst the acclamations of the people; who, wearied with the tyranny of the usurper, regarded the French as the avengers of his crimes, and the assertors of their rights.^f On this occasion the rightful heir to the supreme authority fell into the hands of Louis XII. who tore him from his mother Isabella, and sent him into a monastery in France; whilst Isabella herself, having witnessed the destruction of her husband and children at Milan, returned to Naples to behold that of her whole family. The arms of the French and their allies in Italy, having thus far been successful, the conquering parties began to divide the spoil. The states of Milan and of Genoa were received into the

Louis XII.
possesses
himself of
the state of
Milan.

^f *Muratori, Annali d' Italia, vol. ix. p. 600.*

C H A P. the allegiance of the king of France.* The city
VI. and district of Cremona were surrendered up to
1499. the Venetians, as had been previously agreed on;
Æt. 24. and it only remained to gratify the wishes of Alexander, and his son Cesar Borgia, by obtaining for the latter the dominion of the several states in Romagna, which had been promised to him as a recompense for the concurrence of the pope in the league with France.

Cesar Borgia
 attacks the
 cities of Ro-
 magna.

Cesar Borgia, now no longer called the cardinal of Valenza, but duke of Valentinois, having obtained a considerable body of French troops, and united them with the papal forces, proceeded to attack the city of Imola, which he soon compelled to capitulate. The fortress of Forli was defended with great courage by Caterina Sforza, the mother of the young prince Ottaviano Riario; but all resistance to so superiour a force being ineffectual, she was at length obliged to surrender; and, being made a prisoner, was sent to the castle of S. Angelo, at Rome. She was, however, soon afterwards liberated in consequence of the representations of Ivo d' Allegri, who commanded the French troops in the service of Cesar Borgia, and who was induced not less from admiration of her courage than compassion for her sex, to interest himself in her behalf. The further progress of the
 united

* v. *Macchiavelli, lib. del Principe, p. 6. ed. 1550.*

united armies, was prevented by new disturbances in the Milanese, in consequence of which, d'Allegrì returned with the troops under his command, into that district; and Cesar, hastening to Rome, entered the city on the twenty-sixth day of February, 1500, with extraordinary pomp.^h A carnival was soon afterwards celebrated, in which he displayed his magnificence at an incredible expense; and, as a reward for his achievements, the pope presented him with the golden consecrated rose, and dignified him with the title of *Gonfaloniere* of the holy Roman church.

C H A P.

VI.

1500.

Æt. 25.

The period was now fast approaching in which Lodovico Sforza, the author of so many calamities to his country, and to mankind, was to meet with the retribution that awaited his misdeeds. After having attempted, in vain, to procure the assistance of the emperor elect, Maximilian, he resorted to the mercenary aid of the Swiss, from whom he engaged an army of eight thousand men. With this force, and such additional troops as his own exertions, and those of his brother, the cardinal Ascanio, could raise, he suddenly descended into Italy, and passing by the lake of Como, possessed himself of the adjacent city. The commencement of his undertaking was prosperous. The cruelties and

Imprison-
ment and
death of Le-
dovico
Sforza.

^h The particulars of this splendid procession are fully given by Burchard.

C H A P. and enormities practised by the French, had already
VI. convinced the people of the error into which they
1500. had been led, by a too favourable opinion of their
Æt. 25. conquerors. The cities of Milan opened their
 gates to their former sovereign, whose government,
 though severe, appeared to them kind and lenient,
 in comparison with the tyranny of the French.
 Louis XII. was, however, unwilling to relinquish
 his conquest without further efforts. Fresh troops
 were poured over the Alps; the principal part of
 which consisted also of Swiss mercenaries, who,
 to the number of ten thousand, engaged to oppose
 their own countrymen; and who, joined to six
 thousand French troops, under the command of
 the duke de Tremouille, again threatened the de-
 struction of the family of Sforza. The contest
 between the two armies was concentrated at the
 city of Novara, from which Lodovico had expelled
 the French; who still, however, kept possession
 of the fortress. Whilst the event of the war yet
 remained uncertain, that treachery, of which Lodo-
 vico had so often set the example, was now em-
 ployed to his own destruction. A secret intercourse
 had already taken place between the Swiss troops
 in his service and the French commander. At
 the moment when he expected to avail himself of
 their assistance, they suddenly deserted his standard,
 alleging that they would not oppose their country-
 men in battle; and, with the privity and concur-
 rence of the French, took the direct road towards
 their

own country.ⁱ In attempting to effect his escape, C H A P.
 Lodovico was, on the tenth day of April, 1500, VI.
 made prisoner, with several of his nobility and 1500.
 friends.^j His own crimes afforded a pretext to Æt. 25.
 Louis XII. for treating him with a degree of cruelty,
 which, in fact, only served to gratify the resent-
 ment of the king, for the opposition given to his
 pretensions, and which changed the remembrance
 of the misconduct of Lodovico into compassion for
 his misfortunes. Conveyed to the castle of Loches,
 in the dutchy of Berri,^k he was there inclosed in a
 dark and lonely chamber; where, daily furnished
 with the means of life, but deprived of all that
 could render life tolerable, he languished in soli-
 tude and misery the remainder of his existence;
 a space of ten years. Scarcely does the history
 of mankind exhibit a spectacle of equal commi-
 seration. Pain and privation, racks and chains,
 may agonize the body; but the indignant reaction
 of a mind conscious of its rectitude, opposes a
barrier

ⁱ The treacherous conduct of the Swiss on this occasion was notorious, and is commemorated in the works of several of the writers of the time.

^j On the same day that Sforza was made prisoner, the poet Marullus lost his life, in attempting to pass the river Cecina, in the district of Volterra. His untimely fate was a subject of regret to several of his learned friends.

^k *Guiciard, lib. iv. 1. 252. Murat. Annali. vol. ix. p. 705.*

C. H. A. P. barrier to their effects; whilst death, a ministering
VI. angel, is ever at hand to ward off the last extremes
 1500. of suffering. This, alas, was not the fate of Lo-
 Æt. 25. dovico; with sufficient understanding to be aware
 of his errors, and with sufficient sensibility to be
 convinced of his guilt, the sufferings of his mind
 were probably yet more acute than those of his
 body. The human ruin was complete. Other
 calamities may be tolerated, "but a wounded spirit,
 who can bear?"

The cardinal
 de' Medici
 returns to
 Rome.

Such were the events that had taken place in
 Italy, during the absence of the cardinal de' Me-
 dici, and which speedily prepared the way to still
 more important alterations. From Genoa the car-
 dinal hastened to Rome, in the expectation, that
 amidst the changes and commotions to which the
 pretensions of Louis XII. and the ambition of
 Cesar Borgia incessantly gave rise, an opportunity
 might yet occur of restoring the Medici to their
 former authority in the city of Florence. On his
 arrival at Rome, the moderation of his conduct,
 and the respectability of his life, seemed to have
 effected a change in the disposition of the pope;
 who, from this time, appears to have laid aside
 his ill will, and to have treated the cardinal with the
 respect and attention due to his rank. But, although
 this alteration in the conduct of the pope was
 sufficiently observable, it was not supposed, by
 those who had the best opportunities of forming
 a just opinion of these very opposite characters,
 that

that Alexander was sincere in his professions of esteem, for one whom he had so lately marked as an object of his displeasure. On the contrary it was conjectured, that the crafty pontiff was only desirous of avoiding the imputation of having such a man as the cardinal for his enemy, and of screening himself from the odium which he justly deserved, by inducing a belief, that he lived with him on terms of intimacy and confidence. It is thus that vice sometimes associates itself with virtue, that it may with less danger of detection pursue its criminal purposes.¹

The award of the duke of Ferrara for terminating the war respecting the city of Pisa, having been rendered ineffectual by the dissent of all the parties, the Florentines had begun to take measures for repairing their former disasters; and, as they had concurred with the Venetians and the pope, in the

The Florentines again attack the city of Pisa, but are repulsed by the inhabitants.

¹ "Cum enim vitam moresque tuos ab ineunte ætate considero, cum castissimè superatam adolescentiam, juventutem actam gravissimè atque sanctissimè, cum præterea intueor quantâ animi fortitudine atque constantiâ, paupertatem, diuturnumque exilium toleraveris; quâ prudentiâ, errore fortasse aliquo, gravem tibi adversarium Alexandrum pontificem maximum, eò deduxeris facilitate tuâ et suavissimis moribus, ut non modo odium dissimulare vellet, sed etiam ad declinandam invidiam, se tibi cuperet haberi amicissimum, &c. *Greg. Cortesii Ep. ad Leon. x. inter ejusd. ep. fam. p. 249. Ven. 1573.*

C H A P. the league with France, they conceived that they
VI. were also entitled to derive some advantage from
1500. the successes of the allies, towards which they had
Æt. 25. contributed by sending to the aid of the king a
 considerable body of troops.^m These pretensions
 were urged with great eagerness; insomuch, that
 the cardinal of Rohan, who governed the Milanese
 states on behalf of Louis XII. was at length pre-
 vailed upon to furnish the Florentines with a body
 of six hundred horse, and eight thousand Swiss
 soldiers, accompanied by a formidable train of ar-
 tillery, and a supply of ammunition, for the pur-
 pose of reducing the citizens of Pisa to obedience.ⁿ
 With this aid, and a considerable additional body
 of Italian mercenaries, the Florentines again, as-
 sailed that unfortunate city; which the inhabitants
 had fortified to the utmost of their power. The
 besieged

^m *Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 254.* The frequent intro-
 duction of the "siege of Pisa," may perhaps remind the
 reader of the sarcasm of Boccalini, where he pretends,
 that the laconick senate condemned an unfortunate author,
 who had been convicted of using three words, where two
 were sufficient, to read once over the war of Pisa by Guic-
 ciardini; but that the culprit, after having with great
 agony laboured through the first page, requested his
 judges would send him to the gallies for life, rather than
 compel him to go through with his labour. *Boccalin. Rag-
 guag. vi.* Guicciardini enjoys his reputation and the critick
 his jest.

ⁿ *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. iv. p. 55, &c.*

besieged did not, however, wholly rely either on the strength of their ramparts, or on their own courage; but had recourse to artifice and negotiation, for mitigating the violence, or obviating the effects of the threatened attack. To this end they despatched their envoys to the French governors in Milan and Genoa, as well as to Beaumont, the commander of the French troops destined for the assault, proposing to deliver up the city to the French king, provided he would receive them as his subjects, and afford them his protection.* To this offer Ravestan, the governor of Genoa, expressed his assent; but Beaumont still persevered in the attack; and, having at length succeeded in demolishing a part of the walls, he ordered his troops to commence the assault. An ill disciplined and tumultuous body of horse and foot rushed towards the city; but, although the walls were destroyed, an immense trench, which the industry of the inhabitants had formed within them, with an additional rampart, unexpectedly opposed their further progress.^p In one moment the daring assailants were converted into astonished spectators, and the remainder of the day was passed without any effort to surmount the difficulty. The offers made to the king of France, now began to produce their effects.

C H A P.
VI.
1500.
Æt. 25.

* *Guicciard. lib. v. vol. ii. p. 256.*

^p *Nardi. Histor. Fior. lib. iv. p. 56.*

C H A P. effects. Many of the French officers were favourable to the cause of the inhabitants. An amicable
VI. intercourse soon took place between them, and they
1500. who had been repulsed as enemies, were now admitted as friends. By this communication, and the long delay to which it gave rise, the discipline of the besieging army was wholly destroyed. A general mutiny took place, in which the soldiery seized upon the supplies intended for the siege, sacked the camp, and took prisoner the Florentine commissary, Luca d'Albizi, on a pretext that the arrears of their pay had not been duly discharged. No sooner was the besieging army dispersed, than the troops in the city sallied out, and proceeding to Librafatta, a garrison town on the Tuscan frontier, with great intrepidity, scaled the walls, and possessed themselves of the place; which was of the utmost importance to their safety, as it opened to them all the country towards Lucca.⁹ Nor did the misfortunes of the Florentines terminate here. Louis XII. exasperated beyond measure at the dishonour which the French arms had sustained in this enterprise, accused the Florentines of having rendered it abortive by their own parsimony and imprudence. The Florentines were earnest to justify themselves; for which purpose they despatched two ambassadours to the king; one of whom

⁹ Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 257.

whom was the celebrated Nicolo Macchiavelli; CHAP. VI.
 but their representations were of little avail; and it 1501.
 was only by the payment of an additional sum, for Æt. 26.
 the support, as the king pretended, of the Swiss
 troops on their return to Milan, that they were
 again received into favour. The resentment of the
 monarch being thus pacified, he once more pro-
 posed to afford them his assistance. But the Flo-
 rentines, suspecting, perhaps, that he had himself
 designs upon the city of Pisa, or being already so
 far exhausted, as to be unable to bear the expenses
 which a new attempt must inevitably occasion,
 thought proper to decline his further aid.

In the mean time Cesar Borgia persevered in Cesar Borgia perseveres in his attempts on the Italian states.
 his attempt to subdue the cities of Romagna. By
 the assistance of the French troops, he soon pos-
 sessed himself of Pesaro, the patrimony of Gio-
 vanni Sforza; and of Rimini, then subject to
 Pandolfo Malatesti. The conquest of Faenza was
 an undertaking of greater difficulty. Such was
 the attachment of the inhabitants to their young so-
 vereign, Astorre Manfredi, then only seventeen
 years of age, that the utmost efforts of the assail-
 ants were unable to reduce the place until the fol-
 lowing year, when the city surrendered to the
 French and papal arms. Even then the possession
 was only obtained under the sanction of an honour-
 able

^r Nardi, *Hist. Fiorent.* lib. iv p. 67.

C H A P. able capitulation, by which the young prince, who
VI. had already distinguished himself by his military
1501. talents, was to hold a respectable rank in the ser-
Æt. 26. vice of Cesar Borgia. No sooner, however, had
 that implacable tyrant secured his person, than
 he sent him, accompanied by his natural brother,
 to Rome; where they were both put to death.^a
 He then turned his arms against Bologna, where
 he had already a secret communication with some
 of the principal citizens, whom he had seduced
 to espouse his cause; but Giovanni Bentivoglio,
 who then held the supreme authority, having dis-
 covered the intrigue, seized upon several of the
 conspirators, who were immediately slaughtered by
 his adherents; and, having diligently attended to
 the defence of the city, prevented, for a time, the
 further progress of the usurper, who had intended
 to constitute Bologna the capital of his new go-
 vernment; of which the pope had already granted
 him the investiture, by the title of duke of Ro-
 magna.^t

The Medici
 attempt a
 fourth time
 to effect their
 return to Flo-
 rence.

Whilst Cesar Borgia, thus checked in his career,
 was hesitating against whom he should next lead
 the formidable body of troops, of which he had
 obtained the command, the Medici conceived that
 a favourable

^a *Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 262.*

^t *Jovii, Vita Leonis x. lib. i. p. 24.*

a favourable opportunity was once more afforded them, of regaining their former authority in the city of Florence. The want of ability and energy in the government of that place became daily more conspicuous. The city, exhausted of its wealth, was distracted by tumults; whilst the Tuscan territories were disgraced by dissensions and feuds among the principal families. In this situation of affairs, Piero de' Medici, encouraged by the Venetians, and supported by the Orsini, and by Vitellozzo Vitelli, whose animosity to the Florentines on account of the death of his brother Paolo, was unextinguishable, hastened to the camp of Cesar Borgia, and endeavoured to convince him of the advantages which he would derive from marching his troops into the Florentine territory, and effecting a change in the government.^a At the same time Giuliano de' Medici suddenly presented himself at the court of Louis XII. who was then highly displeased with the Florentines, and, by the promise of a large subsidy for the support of the expedition against Naples, and the assurances of a constant devotion to the French government, obtained

^a "Dux Valentinus fecit mirabilia magna solus in Flaminia, jactaturque vulgo, et rumor increbrescit, quod ubi Faventiam, Bononiamque expugnaverit, velit ferro aperire iter *Petro Medici*, ut hic plusquam civis (facinus magnum) tantæ civitati imperitet." *Aug. Vespucci Ep. ad Nic. Macch. ap. Band. Coll. Vet. Mon. p. 52.*

o H.A.P. obtained from the king, the promise of his support in
vi. the intended enterprise. * But Cesar Borgia although
 1561. he received Piero de' Medici with apparent kind-
 Rt. 26. ness, and even promised to promote his cause, had
 no object less at heart than the restoration of the
 Medici to Florence; * having already formed de-
 signs more conducive to his own interest. He
 considered, however, that in the deranged state of
 the affairs of Florence, he could not fail, either of
 occupying some desirable part of their territory, or
 of obtaining such terms as might be favourable to
 the prosecution of his favourite project, the esta-
 blishment of the dutchy of Romagna. Nor is it
 improbable that he had indulged the hope of avail-
 ing

* Guicciard. lib. v. l. 263.

* Guicciardinl, on the authority of particular and private information, relates, that Cesar had long born a secret enmity against Piero de' Medici, on account of a circumstance which occurred whilst Cesar was pursuing his studies at Pisa, before his father was raised to the pontificate; when, having occasion to resort to the assistance of Piero on behalf of one of his friends, who was implicated in some criminal transaction, he had hastened from Pisa to Florence; but after waiting some hours for an audience, whilst Piero was engaged in business or amusement, he had returned, not only without effecting his purpose, but without having obtained an interview. Trivial as this incident may appear, it must be remembered, that the resentment of wounded pride is of all others the most violent, and that the soul of Borgia knew not how to forgive. v. Guicciard. lib. v. l. 264.

ing himself of some fortunate concurrence of circumstances to subjugate to his own authority the whole of the Tuscan state.

.VI.

1501.

Et. 26.

About the beginning of the Month of May, 1501, Cesar descended with his army, consisting of seven thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, from Romagna, into the district of Mugello, and pitched his camp in the vicinity of Barberino. He was here joined by a body of troops from Bologna, which had been sent to his assistance by Bentivoglio, in pursuance of a treaty concluded between them.⁷ From Barberino, Cesar despatched his envoys to Florence, to acquaint the citizens with the purpose of his approach, and to prescribe to them the terms on which alone he would withdraw his troops. Of these proposals, as preserved by Nardi,⁸ the principal were, that the Florentines should pay him a considerable stipend, as their *Condottiero*; that they should not interfere with him in his meditated attack upon the other states of Italy, and particularly that of Piombino, then under the protection of Florence; that they should deliver up to him six of the principal citizens as hostages, to be named by Vitellozzo; and lastly, that

Cesar Borgia turns his arms against Florence but is ordered to desist by Alexander VI.

⁸ Guicciard. lib. v. l. 264.

⁷ Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. iv. p. 71.

⁸ Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. iv. p. 72.

C H A P. that they should restore Piero de' Medici to his

VI. former honours, or should otherwise make such

1501. an alteration in the government, as might secure

Æt. 26. on their part the performance of the proposed treaty.

No sooner were these propositions heard in the city, than they excited the highest indignation; insomuch, that the magistrates, whilst deliberating on the measures to be adopted, could scarcely be secured from the violence of the people. But, whilst the negotiation was depending, and the result was yet uncertain, Cesar received peremptory orders from the pope, to abstain from any further proceedings against the Florentines. In consequence of this mandate, he unwillingly withdrew his troops; not, however, without obtaining the appointment of *Condottiero* to the republick, with an annual income of thirty-six thousand ducats, and a stipulation that he should not be obliged to serve in person.^a The motives that induced Alexander VI. thus to interfere in the designs of Cesar Borgia, arose from the representations of Louis XII. who, although he might have consented to the restoration of the family of Medici to their former authority in Florence, was too well apprized of the character of Alexander VI. and his son, to permit them to obtain such an ascendancy in that city, as must have resulted from their being the instruments

of

^a Guicciard. lib. v. l. 265.

of such restoration. Nor was it difficult to perceive, that an influence so extensive, as the family of Borgia would then have acquired, might, in case of a rupture with the pope, have formed an effectual barrier against the projected invasion of the kingdom of Naples; on which account Louis had given positive directions to his general d'Aubigny, that in case Cesar did not, on the first representation to him, evacuate the Florentine dominions; he should employ all his forces to compel him to retreat.

CHAP.
VI.
1501.
Æt. 26.

Whilst Cesar Borgia was thus industriously attempting by fraud or by force, to establish an independent authority in Italy, another event took place which surpassed his crimes, no less in treachery and injustice, than in the rank of the perpetrators, and the extent of the theatre on which it was transacted. Federigo, king of Naples, had commenced his reign with the affection of his people; and his disposition and talents were well calculated to promote their happiness. Even those who had revolted, or quitted the country, under the reigns of Ferdinand I. and Alfonso II. had returned with confidence to their allegiance; and the princes of Salerno and Bisignano, were among the first to salute him as their sovereign.^b Federigo, on his part, lost no opportunity of confirming the favourable

Treachorous
conduct of
Louis XII.
and Ferdi-
nand of Spain
toward Federigo
king of
Naples.

^b Giannone, *Storia di Napoli*. vol. iii. p. 391.

CHAP. able opinion already entertained of him. Instead
 VI. of persecuting such of the nobility as had espoused
 1501. the cause of the French, he restored to them their
 Et. 26. domains and fortresses. He patronised and liberal-
 ly rewarded the many eminent scholars, by whom
 the city of Naples was distinguished, and who had
 been injured or exiled during the late commotions;
 and, as an indication of the tenour of conduct
 which he meant to adopt, he struck a medal with a
 device, alluding to the better order of things which
 he meant to establish.^c But, although the reign of
 Federigo commenced under the happiest auspices,
 it was not destined to be of long duration; and
 whilst he supposed that every day gave additional
 security to his authority, the kings of France and
 of Spain, had, by a secret treaty, divided between
 them his dominions, and formed a scheme for
 carrying their purpose into effect. This plan,
 which has served as a model on subsequent occa-
 sions, was, that the king of France should assert
 his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples; as re-
 presentative of the house of Anjou; the infallible
 consequence

^c This device represented a book in the flames, sur-
 mounted by the crown of Naples, with the motto, RECE-
 DANT VETERA. The life, character, and conduct of Fede-
 rigo, are particularly noticed by Sanazzaro, in a Latin elegy,
 wholly devoted to that purpose; and which merits perusal
 no less as an interesting historical monument, than as a
 beautiful poem. v. Sanaz. *Eleg. lib. iii. El. 1.*

consequence of which would be, that Federigo CHAP.
 would resort for assistance to Ferdinand and Isabel VI.
 la of Spain, who should send over a considerable 1501.
 military force, under the pretext of opposing the Art. 26.
 French, but that, as soon as the latter arrived, the
 Spanish troops should unite their arms with their
 pretended adversaries, expel the family of Aragon,
 and divide the kingdom between the two sove-
 reigns. By this treaty the king of France was to
 possess the city of Naples, the provinces called
 Terra di Lavoro and Abruzzo, with a moiety of
 the income arising from the pastures of Apulia, and
 was to assume, in addition to his titles of king of
 France and duke of Milan, that of king of Naples
 and Jerusalem. The districts of Calabria and
 Apulia, with the other moiety of the income, were
 allotted to the king of Spain, who was to style
 himself duke of those provinces. This treaty,
 which bears date the eleventh day of November,
 1500, is yet extant;^d and if the moral sense of
 mankind be not extinguished by the subsequent
 repetition of such enormities, will consign the me-
 mory of these royal plunderers to merited execra-
 tion.

Preliminaries being thus adjusted, Louis XII.
 began openly to prepare for the intended attack,
the

^d *Du Mont, Corps Diplomatique. vol. iii. par. ii. p. 444.*

CHAP. the direction of which, he confided to his general
 VI. d'Aubigny; who commenced his expedition, at
 1501. the head of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse.

Art. 26. Federigo was no sooner apprized of this measure
 Louis XII. attacks the territory of Naples. than he despatched information of it to Gonsalvo, the Spanish general, who had withdrawn his troops into Sicily, on the pretence that he might be in readiness, in case his assistance should again be required in the kingdom of Naples. On the arrival of Gonsalvo, the king confided to his care the fortified places in Calabria, which the Spanish general pretended were necessary for the security of his army. Federigo had also raised a considerable body of troops, which had been reenforced by those of the Colonna; with which, when joined by the Spanish army, he expected to be enabled to oppose an effectual barrier to the progress of the French. All Italy was in suspense, and a contest far more bloody than had of late occurred, was expected to plunge that country into new calamities. A short time, however, removed all apprehensions on this head. No sooner had the French troops made their appearance in the Roman territories, than the envoys of the allied monarchs met at Rome; where, entering together into the consistory, they notified to the pope and cardinals, the treaty already formed, and the consequent division of the kingdom of Naples. The convenient pretext of the promotion of the christian faith, by a war against the infidels, for the preparations necessary to which, it was asserted, that kingdom afforded the most
 convenient

convenient station, was the mask under which their *most catholic* and *most christian* majesties affected to hide from the world the deformity of their crime.

C H A P.

VI.

1501.

Æt. 26.

The stipulations thus agreed upon, met with no opposition from Alexander VI. who had now an opportunity of gratifying the resentment which he had so long harboured against the king of Naples. On the twenty-fifth day of June, 1501, a pontifical bull deprived Federigo of his dominions, and divided them between the two monarchs, in the shares before mentioned.^c The intelligence of this alliance, and of its consequences, struck Federigo with terour; but Gonsalvo, pretending to discredit it, continued to give him the most positive assurances of his assistance. No sooner, however, had the French army entered the Neapolitan territory, than he avowed his instructions, and immediately sent off from Naples to Spain, in vessels already provided for that purpose, the two dowager queens; one of whom was the sister, and the other the niece of the Spanish king. Federigo persevered in the defence of his rights; and, intrusting the command of the city of Naples to Prospero Colonna, determined to make his first resistance at

^c The bull of Alexander VI. by which he divides the kingdom of Naples between the French and Spanish monarchs, is published by Rousset, in his supplement to the *Corps Diplomatique* of Du Mont. vol. iii. p. 1.

CHAP. at Capua.^f D'Aubigny had, however, already
 VI. possessed himself of the adjacent country ; the king
 1501. was obliged to return with his army from Aversa
 R.t. 26. to Naples ; and Capua, being taken by assault on
 the twenty-fifth day of July, was sacked by the
 French with circumstances of peculiar cruelty,
 and unexampled licentiousness.^g The loss of Ca-
 pua was speedily followed by the capitulation of
 the city of Naples, which purchased an exemption
 from plunder by the payment of seventy thousand
 ducats to the invaders. Federigo withdrew him-
 self into the *Castel-nuovo*, which he refused to sur-
 render till he had effected a treaty with d'Aubigny,
 by which he was to be allowed to retire to the
 island of Ischia, and to retain it for six months,
 and was also to be at liberty to remove from the
Castel-nuovo and *Castel dell' Uovo* whatever he
 might think proper, excepting only the artillery.
 In negotiating for his own safety, he did not forget
 that of his subjects. A general amnesty was to be
 granted of all transactions since Charles VIII. had
 quitted the city of Naples ; and the cardinals of
 Aragon and Colonna were to enjoy their eccle-
 siastical revenues arising from that kingdom. In
 the

^f To this period we may apply the sonnet of Cariteo :

“ Mentre che d'Aragona il sommo honore
 “ Tra Galli e Cimbri il suo destrier raggiira.”

^g *Guicciard. lib. v. l. 268.*

the commencement of this contest, Federigo had sent his infant son Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, to Tarentum, under the care of the count of Potenza. The rest of the wretched family of Aragon were now assembled on the barren rock of Ischia. This family consisted of his queen, Isabella, and a numerous train of children; his sister Beatrice, the widow of the great Mattia Corvino, king of Hungary; and his niece, Isabella, the widow of Gian-Galeazzo, duke of Milan; who, already deprived of her sovereign rank, her husband, and her son, now saw the completion of her ruin in that of her royal relations.^h

This

^h The poet Cariteo has paid the last tribute of duty and affection to his unfortunate sovereign, in the second *Cantico* of his *Metamorphosi*, in which he introduces the city of Naples, the lovely Parthenope, lamenting her lost glory and happiness, and contrasting them with the disgraceful state of servitude, to which she was reduced by her conquerors:

“ Libera fui gran tempo; hor son captiva;

“ In man di feri monstri, horrendi e diri.”

A considerable part of the poem is devoted to the commemoration of the female part of the family; four of whom, then living, had sat upon a regal throne, and the fifth had enjoyed sovereign rank as dutchess of Milan:

“ Ove siete, O Joanne, ambe regine,

“ D'Ausonia, e d'Aragonia ambe ornamento,

“ Per virtute e bellezze ambe divine?

“ Ove

C. H. A. P. This deeply meditated act of treachery, to
 VI. which Federigo had fallen a victim, whilst it exci-
 1501. ted in him the highest indignation against his per-
 Et. 26. fidious relative, Ferdinand of Spain, inspired him
 Retires to with a disgust of the cares and the dangers of roy-
 France. alty, and induced him to seek for repose in a less
 invidious station. Having therefore obtained a
 passport from Louis XII. he left his family at
 Ischia, under the care of the Marquis del Vasto,
 and proceeding directly to France, endeavoured to
 conciliate the favour of the king, so far as to afford
 him the means of fulfilling his wishes. No longer
 regarding

"Ove è Beatrice; ov' il grande incremento
 "Del valor d'Aragon? di re sorella,
 "Figlia, e consorte? e di lor gloria aumento?
 "Hor per te cresce il duolo, alma Isabella;
 "Di Re feconda madre, e di virtute,
 "E di Re guida, orientale stella.

* * *

"Verace ardente amor, costante e fiso,
 "Vuol ch' in l' altra Isabella sempre io pensi,
 "Che i thesauri del ciel porta nel viso;
 "Duchessa di Milan; di cui gli accensi
 "Rai di bellezza efflagran sì nel volto,
 "Che sveglian di ciascun gli ignavi sensi," &c.

Boccalini has selected the example of this last accomplished lady as the most unfortunate on historical record—"unica nelle disgrazie"—on which account he represents her, in his imaginary Parnassus, as reduced to the necessity of supporting herself by selling matches through the streets, *Ragguag. di Parnasso*. 75.

regarding him as a rival, but as a suppliant, Louis c H A P.
 acceded to his request, and an annual income of VI.
 thirty thousand ducats, with the title of duke 1501.
 of Anjou, secured to him opulence and repose Æt. 26.
 during the remainder of his days. Historians have
 accused him of pusillanimity, in thus relinquishing
 for an inferiour title, his pretensions to a crown,
 which, in the dissensions that soon afterwards arose
 between the two successful monarchs, he might
 in all probability have recovered; but Federigo
 had sufficiently experienced the treachery and
 ingratitude of mankind; and, having in vain at-
 tempted to promote the happines of others, he
 perhaps chose a wise part in securing his own.

The regrets of the muses, whom he had so
 generously protected during his prosperity, fol-
 lowed him to his retreat. Sanazzaro, who accom-
 panied him on his expedition into France, seems
 to consider the events that then took place, to be,
 as indeed they afterwards proved, the final destruc-
 tion of the Neapolitan branch of the house of
 Aragon.ⁱ

The

ⁱ "O fatum infelix! O sors malefida! quid illic
 "Egimus? O tristi mersa carina loco!"

Sannaz. El. lib. iii. El. 2.

Federigo died at Tours in the year 1504, at 52 years of
 age. The Neapolitan historians feelingly regret the loss
 of a line of monarchs, who had for a long course of years
 rendered

CHAP. The last place in Naples that resisted the arms
 VI. of the Spanish monarch, was the city of Tarentum,
 1501. whither
 Æt. 26.

rendered Naples the seat of magnificence, opulence, and learning; and of whom the last was the most deserving, and the most unfortunate. "Principe cotanto saggio," says Giannone, (*lib. xxix. cap. iv.*) "e di molte lettere" "adorno, che a lui, non men che a Ferdinando suo padre, "deve Napoli il ristoramento delle discipline, e delle buone "lettere." He was accompanied on this expedition to France, by a few of his faithful adherents; and, among the rest, by Sanazzaro, who, on this occasion, sold the remainder of his hereditary possessions to relieve the necessities of his sovereign, and remained with him to the time of his death; having taken his farewell of his native country, in the following beautiful verses:

" Parthenope mihi culta, vale, blandissima Siren;
 " Atque horti valeant, Hesperidesque tux;
 " Mergillina, vale, nostri memor; et mea flentis
 " Serta cape, heu domini munera avara tui.
 " Maternæ salvet umbra; salvet, paternæ;
 " Accipite et vestris turea dona focis.
 " Neve nega optatos, virgo Sebethias, amnes;
 " Absentique tuas det mihi somnus aquas.
 " Det fesso æstivas umbras sopor; et levis aura
 " Fluminaque ipsa suo lene sonent strepitu;
 " Exilium nam sponte sequor. Fors ipsa favebit
 " Fortibus hæc solita est sæpe et adesse viris.
 " Et mihi sunt comites musæ; sunt numina vatum;
 " Et mens læta suis gaudet ab auspiciis,
 " Blanditurque animo constans sententia; quamvis
 " Exilii meritum sit satis ipsa fides."

Epigr. lib. iii. Ep. 7. Ed. Com.

whither the young duke of Calabria had been sent by his father, as to a place of security. The command of the castle was intrusted to Leonardo Napolitano, a knight of Rhodes; but he, being reduced to extremities by Gonsalvo, agreed, with the consent of the count of Potenza, to surrender the city and fortress, if succour did not arrive in the space of four months; Gonsalvo binding himself by the solemnity of an oath, on the holy sacrament, that the duke of Calabria should be at liberty to proceed whithersoever he thought proper. On the surrender of Tarentum, the duke expressed his intention to follow his father into France; but Gonsalvo, disregarding his oath, sent him to Ferdinand of Spain, in which country he continued during the life of that monarch, in a sort of honourable captivity.^j

C H A P.
VI.
1501.
Æt 26.
Gonsalvo betrays the young duke of Calabria.

If

^j On the accession of Charles V. to the Spanish monarchy, the prince obtained the particular favour of that monarch, by refusing to place himself at the head of the Spanish insurgents in the year 1522. His wife, Mencía di Mendoza, dying without children, Charles gave him, in a second marriage, Germana de Foix, niece to Louis XII. of France, and widow of Ferdinand of Aragon; a rich bride, but not likely to bear a progeny. On the death of this prince, which happened in the year 1550, this branch of the family of Aragon became extinct; his two younger brothers and two sisters having all died without offspring. Before the marriage of Federigo king of Naples, with his queen Isabella, he had been married to Anna, daughter of Amadeus,

C H A P. If the descent of Louis XII. into Italy inter-

- VI. rupted the progress of Cesar Borgia in effecting

1501. the conquest of Romagna, the part which he had

Æt. 26. taken, in uniting his arms with those of the

Cesar Borgia captures the states of Piombino, Urbino, and Camerino.

French on this occasion, enabled him to return to his former undertaking, with a greater prospect of success. The first object towards which he directed his attention, was the city of Piombino, then held in subjection by Jacopo d'Appiano. To the attack of this place he despatched two of his generals, Vitellozzo Vitelli, and Gian-Paolo Baglione. Jacopo did not, however, wait their arrival; but, leaving a garrison in the place, precipitately fled into France, expecting by his representations to Louis XII. to prevail upon that monarch to prohibit the further progress of the papal arms. His endeavours were, however, ineffectual, and Piombino soon afterwards capitulated to the invaders. The territory of Urbino, consisting of four cities and thirty fortified places, next attracted the ambitious views of the conqueror; but the duke Guidubaldo, instead of affording any pretext for hostilities against him, had frequently fought

Amadeus, duke of Savoy, by whom he left a daughter, Carlotta, and from her the dukes of Tremouille in France, have claimed their descent; in consequence of which, they have in much later times, asserted their rights to the crown of Naples. v. *Giannone, Storia di Napoli. lib. xxix. cap. iv. v. 3. p. 406.*

fought the battles of the church. His courage C H A P.
 was indisputable; and his amiable qualities, and VI.
 excellent endowments, had secured the affections 1502.
 of his people. Desparing of effecting his purpose Æt. 27.
 by an open attack, Cesar, on this occasion, resorted to treachery. He marched, at the head of a powerful army, to Nocera, avowing his intention of attacking the state of Camerino. Thence he despatched an embassy to the duke of Urbino, requesting the assistance of his artillery, and as many soldiers as he could furnish. His request was instantly complied with; but no sooner had Cesar deprived the duke of the means of defence, than he turned his own arms against him; and, possessing himself of Cagli, proceeded by rapid marches towards Urbino. Alarmed, not only for his dominions but his life, Guidubaldo, with his nephew Francesco Maria della Rovere, hastily quitted the city in disguise, and, though vigilantly pursued, had the good fortune to escape to Mantua, where he met with his wife Isabella; who, after having accompanied Lucretia Borgia to Ferrara, on the recent celebration of her nuptials with Alfonso d'Este, son of the duke, had passed to Mantua to visit the Marquis her brother. Having thus obtained the dutchy of Urbino, Cesar attacked the states of Camerino; and, having, under pretext of a treaty, gotten into his power Giulio da Varano, lord of that country, with two of his sons, he treacherously put them to death

C H A P. death, and rendered himself master of their domi-
 VI. nions.^k

1502.

Æt. 27. The success which attended Cesar Borgia in all his undertakings, had attracted to his standard many of the most eminent *condottieri*, or military adventurers of Italy. Among these were Vitellozzo Vitelli lord of Città di Castello, Francesco Orsino duke of Gravina, Pandolfo Petrucci lord of Siena, Paolo Orsino, Gian-Paolo Baglioni, and Oliverotto da Fermo. By the assistance of these leaders and the exertion of his own unrivalled talents in the art of dissimulation, he still continued to extend his conquests. Encouraged by the number of his adherents, and the favour of the king of France, he again turned his views towards the territories of Florence, which were suddenly assailed on all sides by his arms. The city of Cortona, the towns of Anghieri and Borgo San-Sepolcro, and even the city of Arezzo, surrendered to the invaders. As the difficulties of the Florentines increased, the hopes of the Medici revived; and uniting their power with their relations and auxiliaries, the Orsini, they joined the forces of Borgia, whose rapid progress left no reason to doubt that the Florentines would soon be obliged to surrender up their city at the discretion of the conquerors.

In

^k Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, vol. x. p. 9.

In this alarming emergency the principal inhabitants met together, to deliberate on the most effectual measures for averting the dangers with which they were threatened; when Pietro Soderini had the good sense, to point out the only expedient that could preserve them from ruin. After expatiating on the deplorable state of the republick, and the impracticability of obtaining assistance from any other quarter, he recommended, that an embassy should be despatched to Louis XII. to request his interference on their behalf, in pursuance of a treaty lately formed between him and the Florentines.¹ He did yet more; he took upon himself the office of ambassadour, and, hastening to the king, laid before him such cogent reasons for granting his aid to the republick, as induced that monarch to comply with his request.^m Messengers were immediately despatched to the pope and his son, to admonish them against further proceedings; and, lest these should be ineffectual, a considerable body of troops was directed to enter the Tuscan territories, and not only to repel those in the service of Borgia, then under the command of Vitellozzo, but to obtain the restitution of the places

C. H. A. P.
VI.
1502.
Æt. 27.

¹ The treaty for protecting the republick, is dated the nineteenth day of November, 1501, at Blois.—*v. Lünig*. l. 1142.

^m *Ammirato Hist. Fior. lib. xxvii. 3. 267. Nardi Hist. Fior. lib. iv. p. 81.*

CHAP. places which had submitted to his arms.^a Measures so decisive, from a quarter so powerful, admitted of no opposition. Vitellozzo and the Florentine exiles reluctantly drew off their troops; Soderini was regarded as the saviour of the republic, and was soon afterwards honoured with a more extensive and durable authority than any citizen had before enjoyed, under the novel title of *Gonfaloniere for life*.

Alliance between Cesar Borgia and Louis XII.

As the hopes of Cesar Borgia were principally founded on the favour of Louis XII. he was greatly alarmed at this unexpected opposition to his projects; and hastening in person to the king at Asti,^a he endeavoured to remove the unfavourable suspicions

^a These events are commemorated by Machiavelli, in his Decennale :

“ E perchè Valentin havea fatto alto
 “ Con le sue genti a Nocera, e quindi preso
 “ Il ducato d’Urbino, sol con un salto,
 “ Stavi co’l cuor, e con l’anima sospeso,
 “ Che co’l Vitello e’ non si raccozzassi,
 “ E con quel fusse a’ vostri danni sceso,
 “ Quando a l’un comandò che si fermassi
 “ Pe’ vostri prieghi il Re di San Dionigi
 “ A l’altro furo i suoi disegni cassi.”

Decen. lib. i. 65.

• “ E’l Duca in Asti si fu presentato
 “ Per giustificar se col re Luigi.”

Ib. lib. i. p. 65.

cions entertained respecting him, by representing the prompt obedience which he had paid to his orders, imputing the attempt upon Florence wholly to the animosity of Vitellozzo and the Orsini against that republick, and to the desire of the Medici to be again admitted as chiefs of the city. Satisfied by his protestations, and desirous of conciliating the favour of the pope, in the disputes which had already arisen respecting the partition of the kingdom of Naples, Louis not only received him into favour, but formed with him a treaty of alliance, by which the parties stipulated to afford to each other mutual assistance; and it was particularly agreed, that Cesar should be furnished with a troop of French horse, to enable him to enforce his claims against the feudatories of the church. ^{C H A P. VI. 1502. Et. 27.}

The event of this interview occasioned great alarm to many of the principal commanders, who were engaged in the service of Borgia, and who held the supreme authority in different cities of Italy. A diet was convoked in Perugia, at which the cardinal, and Paolo Orsino, the duke of Gravina, Vitellozzo Vitelli, Gianpaolo Baglioni, Oliverotto da Fermo, and others were present; when the conduct of Cesar Borgia was fully discussed, and it was resolved, that decisive measures should be ^{Formidable opposition to the proceedings of Borgia.}

^p *Guicciard. lib. v. 1. 283.*

CHAP. be taken for restraining his further progress.¹ As

VI. the intelligence of this alliance became publick,

1502. the different states which had before submitted to

Æt. 27 the dominion of Borgia, began to oppose his authority; and in particular the inhabitants of Urbino, having seized upon the fortress of that place, disclaimed their dependence on him, and recalled their former prince. Deprived at once of the assistance of his principal commanders, who had suddenly avowed themselves his enemies, and of the greater part of his troops, Borgia retreated for safety to Imola, where his hopes were unexpectedly revived by an embassy from the Florentines; who having been solicited to unite in the league against him, had not only rejected the proposal, but despatched to him their secretary, Niccolo Machiavelli, to assure him of their assistance against his revolted commanders. The joint efforts of these two accomplished proficients in mischief, could not fail of producing

¹ Machiavelli, the constant apologist of Cesar Borgia, thus characterizes the members of this diet, in his first Decennale :

“ E rivolti fra lor questi serpenti

“ Di velen pien, comminciaro à ghermirsi,

“ E con li ugnoni a straciarsi e co’ denti.

“ E mal potendo il Valentin fuggirsi,

“ Gli bisognò per ischifare il rischio,

“ Con lo scudo di Francia ricoprirsi.”

Dec. lib. i. p. 66.

producing some extraordinary result, and accordingly a plan was adopted for the destruction of their adversaries, to which, in the annals of treachery, it will be difficult to find a parallel. This transaction the Florentine historian has thought deserving of a particular narrative, in which he affects not to conceal the features of guilt under the slightest covering of decency.

C H A P.

VI.

1503.

Et. 27.

From this narrative we learn, that the troops of Borgia, having been attacked by those of the Vitelli and Orsini, near Fossombrone, were put to the rout; in consequence of which, Borgia perceiving no possibility of resisting his enemies by force, endeavoured to engage them in a negotiation. As he was a most accomplished dissembler, he represented to them, that the efforts which he had made in subjugating the different states of Romagna were intended no less for their interest than his own, and that, provided they would allow him the title of sovereign, the sovereignty itself should remain at their direction. These blandishments were not without their effect, and Paolo Orsino was deputed by his colleagues to carry on the treaty; but Cesar, instead of relaxing in his preparations, continued by every possible means, to increase the number

Several of the Italian nobles treacherously put to death by Borgia at Sinigaglia.

Descrizione del modo tenuto dal Duca Valentino nello ammazzare Vitellozzo Vitelli, Oliverotto da Fermo, il Signor Pagolo ed il duca di Gravina Orsini.

CHAP. number of his adherents, distributing his new le-

VI. vies, both of horse and foot, in separate detach-

1502. ments throughout Romagna, so as to avoid all

Æt. 27. cause of suspicion. The arrival of five hundred

horsemen from the king of France was a most sea-

sonable reenforcement; but although he might

now have contended with his adversaries in the

field, he judged it more expedient to proceed in the

execution of his plan, and to continue the nego-

tiation already entered into. The terms of amity

were at length agreed upon; in consequence of

which, he received his former commanders again

into his employ, and agreed to pay, to each of

them, four thousand ducats in advance. He also

engaged not to molest Giovanni Bentivoglio, who

had joined in the league; nor to require the per-

sonal attendance of his new allies, in case it might

not be agreeable to them. On their part they

promised to restore to him the duchy of Urbino,

with all the other places which they had occupied;

to serve him in all his expeditions; and not to en-

gage in any undertaking, or afford their assistance

to any other power, without his assent.

On the conclusion of this league, the duke of Urbino again deserted his capital, and took shelter at Venice, having first dismantled the fortresses within his states, to the end that they might not be garrisoned by his enemies, for the purpose of keeping in subjection a people ardently devoted to the cause of their sovereign.

This

This arrangement being completed, and his own troops, with his French auxiliaries distributed throughout Romagna, Cesar left Imola and proceeded to Cesena; where he met the envoys of his new allies, and deliberated with them towards what part of Italy they should next turn their arms. No decisive measures being concluded on, Oliverotto da Fermo was deputed by these depredators to propose to Borgia another attack upon the Tuscan states; or, if he should not approve of this project, to offer their concurrence in attacking the city of Sinigaglia, then held by Francesco Maria della Rovere, nephew of the duke of Urbino. With the former of these proposals Borgia refused to comply, alleging, that the Florentines were his friends; but the attack on Sinigaglia met with his entire approbation. That place was accordingly soon invested and captured; but the fortress held out for some time, the commander being unwilling to surrender it to any one but to Borgia himself; for which reason his allies entreated that he would hasten to the place. This circumstance seemed to Cesar, to offer a favourable opportunity for executing his purpose, without giving rise to suspicion; his visit to Sinigaglia appearing to be at the request of his allies, and not from his own choice. Still further to avoid all cause of offence, he dismissed his French auxiliaries. Reserving only one hundred horse, under the command of one of his relations, and quitting Cesena about the end of December, he proceeded to Fano, where he employed all his artifice and

C H A P.
VI.
1502.
Æt. 27.

C H A P. sagacity to prevail upon the Vitelli and the Orsini
VI. to wait his arrival in Sinigaglia.

1502.

Æt. 27. Vitellozzo, who had learnt from the fate of his brother, the danger of confiding in those to whom he had once given cause of offence, was extremely averse to this interview ; but, being prevailed upon by Paolo Orsino, who had engaged more deeply in the interests of Borgia, he at length consented to wait his approach.

On the thirtieth of December, 1502, the day fixed upon for his departure from Fano, Cesar communicated his project to eight of his principal adherents, in which number were Don Michele and Monsignor d'Euna, with instructions to this effect ; that as soon as the meeting should take place betwixt himself and Vitellozzo, Paolo Orsino, the duke of Gravina, and Oliverotto, who would come out to meet and conduct him into the city, they should divide their number into pairs, and that each pair should single out his man, and take their stations respectively on each side of him, occupying his attention till they reached Sinigaglia, when they were not to quit them, till they had deliverd them into safe custody at the apartments prepared for the duke. At the same time he ordered his whole force, which consisted of ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to take their station at day break on the banks of the Metauro, a river about five miles from Fano, where they

they should wait his further orders. All things being thus arranged, Borgia advanced with the whole force towards Sinigaglia, where Vitellozzo Vitelli, Paolo Orsino, and the duke of Gravina, mounted upon mules, and accompanied by a few horse, came forwards to meet him. Vitellozzo was unarmed, and appeared so deeply dejected, as to excite the admiration of those who were acquainted with his courage and past achievements. We are also told, that when he left his dependants to come to Sinigaglia for the purpose of meeting the duke, he took a kind of last farewell of them ; recommending to his chief officers, the fortunes of his house, and admonishing his nephews, not to remember the calamities of their family, but the courage of their ancestors. Arriving in the presence of Borgia, they respectfully saluted him, and were received by him with apparent kindness, whilst the persons, to whom the charge of them had been confided, took the stations assigned to them. Borgia, perceiving that they were not accompanied by Oliverotto, who had remained with his troops at Sinigaglia, where he had drawn them up in the square, made a signal to Don Michele, to whom the care of Oliverotto had been committed, to take measures for preventing his escape. In consequence of which, that officer rode forwards, and coming up with Oliverotto, told him it was not a proper time to keep his men from their quarters, as they would, perhaps, be occupied by the soldiers of Borgia, and he therefore advised him to dismiss

C H A P.
VI.
1502.
Æt. 27.

C H A P. dismiss them, and to accompany him to meet the
VI. general. These directions having been complied
 1502. with, Borgia arrived, and accosted Oliverotto, who
 Æt. 27. approached and paid his respects to him. Proceeding thus to Sinigaglia, they dismounted at the lodgings of Borgia, and were led into a secret apartment, where the unsuspecting victims were all made prisoners.

Borgia immediately mounted his horse, and gave orders for disarming the troops of Oliverotto and the Orsini. Those of Oliverotto were all plundered; but those of the Orsini and Vitelli, being at a distance, and having received information of the ruin of their leaders, had time to collect themselves together, and in a firm body effected their escape, notwithstanding the opposition of their enemies, and of the surrounding inhabitants. The soldiers of the duke, not satisfied with the plunder of those of Oliverotto, began to sack the city; and, if Borgia had not repressed their licentiousness, by putting many of them to death, they would have effected their purpose. Night approaching, and the tumult having subsided, he thought it expedient to despatch Vitellozzo and Oliverotto; and, bringing them together into the same place, he caused them to be strangled.* On this occasion

* Ant. Franc. Raineri has commemorated the death of
 Vitellozzo

occasion neither of them, we are told, expressed c H A P.
 themselves in a manner worthy of their past lives ; VI.
 for Vitellozzo entreated that the pope might be 1502
 applied to for a plenary indulgence of his sins, and Æt. 27.
 Oliverotto, weeping, attributed all his offences
 against Borgia, to the influence of Vitellozzo.
 Paolo Orsino and the duke of Gravina were suf-
 fered to live until Cesar received information that
 the pope had secured the persons of the cardi-
 nal Orsino, the archbishop of Florence, and Jacopo 1503.
 di Santa Croce, after which, on the eighteenth day
 of January, they were put to the same kind of
 death, as had been already inflicted on their unfor-
 tunate associates.*

Such

Vitellozzo in a copy of Latin verses, the substance of which
 he has compressed in the two following lines :

“ Non mare me, non Mars, sæva aut mors perdidit ;

“ at me

“ Perdidit omnibus his Borgius asperior.”

Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. viii. 59.

And the same event has also afforded a subject for repro-
 bation to Paulo Giovio ; who justly denominates Borgia

“ — Ravidus, barbarus, impotens,

“ Humani generis perniciēs, atque hominum lues.”

Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. v. 433.

* The cardinal Giambattista Orsino was detained by the
 pope in the Torre Borgia till the month of February follow-
 ing, when he died by poison, as it is supposed, admini-
 stered to him by the direction of the pope ; who caused
 him

thus freed himself from all apprehensions from his doubtful allies, Cesar lost no time in proceeding to Città di Castello, of which place he took possession; the remainder of the family of Vitelli having betaken themselves to flight. He then entered Perugia, which had been in like manner abandoned by Gian-Paolo Baglione, who had, however, the good fortune to escape from the snare laid for him at Sinigaglia. Siena was the next place towards which he bent his course; but whilst he was hovering round the city, and had already compelled Pandolfo Petrucci, who then enjoyed the chief authority, to quit the place, he received intelligence from the pope, that the duke of Bracciano, with others of the Orsini family, as well as the nobles of the Savelli, had again taken up arms. He was therefore obliged to quit Siena; and, hastening into the papal territories, again reduced them to obedience. This was the period of the highest power of Cesar Borgia. In full possession of the extensive territory of Romagna, he regarded with eager avidity the domains of Pisa and of Siena; nor were the citizens of Florence without constant apprehensions from his increasing power; whilst the pope, equally earnest in the

aggran-

C H A P.
VI.
1503.
Æt. 28
He seizes on
their territo-
ries.

“suoi nemici, che tanto e si spesso la travagliavano.” *Nerli, Commentar. lib. v. p. 94.* The Florentines also sent Jacopo Salviati as their ambassadour, to congratulate Cesar on the success of his treachery. *Razzi, vita di Pietro Soderini. p. 7. Padoua, 1737.*

C H A P. agrandizement of his son, had proposed to the
VI. college of cardinals to bestow upon him the title
 1503. of king of Romagna and Umbria.
 Æt. 28.

Death of
 Alexander
 VI.

But whilst every circumstance thus seemed to
 conspire in his favour, an unexpected reverse of
 fortune suddenly overturned the fabrick of his
 greatness. This was the death of Alexander VI.
 which happened on the eighteenth day of August,
 1503. And this misfortune was increased by the
 effects of a dangerous malady, under which Cesar
 himself at the same time laboured, and which
 prevented him from taking those measures for
 securing his authority which he might otherwise
 have adopted. The historians of this period,
 eager to represent both Alexander and his son in
 the most odious colours, have asserted that the
 death of the one and the disorder of the other,
 were occasioned by poison, prepared by them for
 the destruction of several cardinals, of whose wealth
 they intended to possess themselves; but which,
 by the error of an attendant, was incautiously
 administered to themselves. That the horrid and
 detestable practice of destroying persons by poison
 was frequently resorted to in these profligate times,
 is certain; and that Alexander and his son had
 employed these measures for the gratification of
 their avarice, their ambition, or their revenge, is
 positively asserted by many historians; but it by
 no means accords with the acknowledged ability,
 caution, and penetration of these men, that they
 would

would risk their lives upon the negligence, or fidelity of a servant, or place it in the power of accident to render them the victims of their own crime. If, therefore, the death of Alexander is to be attributed to poison, it was most probably administered to him by some of those numerous enemies whom his rapacity and violence had incited to this deed of revenge; but documents recently produced, and a more dispassionate inquiry, afford sufficient reason to conclude, that the death of the pontiff was not occasioned by poison, but was the effect of a fever, which in a few days hurried him to the grave."

Were

▼ Burchard informs us, that the pope was attacked by a fever on the 12th day of August, 1503; that on the sixteenth he was bled, and the disorder seemed to become tertian. On the seventeenth he took medicine; but on the eighteenth he became so ill that his life was despaired of. He then received the Viaticum, during mass; which was celebrated in his chamber, and at which five cardinals assisted. In the evening extreme unction was administered to him, and in a few minutes afterwards he died. *Burchard. Diar. ep. Notices de la bibliothèque du Roi, vol. i. p. 118.* Muratori has produced many authorities to show, that the death of Alexander was not occasioned by poison; among which, that of Beltrando Costabile, then ambassador of the duke of Ferrara, at Rome, seems the most decisive. "The court of Ferrara," adds Muratori, "which was then the residence of the daughter of Alexander, may be presumed to have been well informed of the cause of his death."

That

- CHAP. Were we to place implicit confidence in the
 VI. Italian historians, no period of society has exhibited
 1503. a character of darker deformity than that of Alex-
 Æt. 28. der VI. Inordinate in his ambition, insatiable in
 Remarks on his conduct and character. his avarice and his lust, inexorable in his cruelty,
 and boundless in his rapacity; almost every crime
 that can disgrace humanity is attributed to him
 without hesitation, by writers whose works are
 published under the sanction of the Roman church.
 He is also accused of having introduced into his
 territories, the detestable practice of searching for
 state offences by means of secret informers; a
 system fatal to the liberty and happiness of every
 country that has submitted to such a degradation.
 As a pontiff he perverted his high office, by making
 his

That it was, however, the general opinion at the time of his death, that Alexander perished by poison, appears from numerous contemporary authorities. Thus Guido Postumo, in *Tumulum Sexti*:

“ Quis situs hic? *Sextus*. Quis pectora plangit? *Erynnis*.

“ Quis comes in tanto funere obit? *Vitium*.

“ Unde pyra? Ex *crucibus*, quibus *Itala* pectora torsit.

“ Quæ laniata genas præfica? *Avaricies*.

“ Quis tulit ossa? *Nefas*. Quis longo murmure dixit

“ Nate, vale? Mater *Rixa*, paterque *Odium*.

“ Qui pressere oculos? *Incendia*, *Stupra*, *Rapina*.

“ Quis moriar dixit, hoc moriente? *Dolus*.

“ Sed quæ causa necis? *Virus*. Proh nūmina! virus

“ Humano generi vita, salusque fuit.”

Guid. Post. Eleg. p. 36.

his spiritual power on every occasion subservient to his temporal interests; and he might have adopted as his emblem, that of the ancient Jupiter, which exhibits the lightning in the grasp of a ferocious eagle.* His vices as an individual, although not so injurious to the world, are represented as yet more disgusting; and the records of his court afford repeated instances of a depravity of morals, inexcusable in any station, but abominable in one of his high rank and sacred office. Yet, with all these lamentable defects, justice requires that two particulars

C H A P.

VI.

1503.

Æt. 28.

* To this period, when truth became a crime, we may refer the origin of the Roman Pasquinades; of which the following lines afford one of the earliest instances.

“Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum.

“Emerat ille prius; vendere jure potest.

“De vitio in vitium, de flamma transit in ignem;

“Roma sub Hispano deperit imperio.

“Sextus Tarquinius, Sextus Nero, Sextus et iste;

“Semper sub Sextis perdita Roma fuit.”

Machiavelli, although more favourable to the family of Borgia than most other writers, accuses him of lust, simony, and cruelty:

“———— per aver riposo,

“Portato fu fra l'anime beate

“Lo spirto di Alessandro glorioso.

“Del qual seguì le sante pedate

“Tre sue familiari e care ancille,

“Lussuria, Simonia, e crudeltate.”

Decennale i. p. 68.

C H A P. particulars in his favour should be noticed. In the
VI. first place, whatever have been his crimes, there
1503. can be no doubt but they have been highly over-
Æt. 28. charged. That he was devoted to the aggrandizement of his family, and that he employed the authority of his elevated station to establish a permanent dominion in Italy in the person of his son, cannot be doubted; but when almost all the sovereigns of Europe were attempting to gratify their ambition by means equally criminal, it seems unjust to brand the character of Alexander with any peculiar and extraordinary share of infamy in this respect. Whilst Louis of France and Ferdinand of Spain conspired together, to seize upon and divide the kingdom of Naples, by an example of treachery that never can be sufficiently execrated, Alexander might surely think himself justified in suppressing the turbulent barons, who had for ages rent the dominions of the church with intestine wars, and in subjugating the petty sovereigns of Romagna, over whom he had an acknowledged supremacy, and who had in general acquired their dominions by means as unjustifiable as those which he adopted against them. * With respect to the
accusation

* Oliverotto da Fermo had obtained the chief authority in the city from which he derived his name, by the treacherous murder of his uncle, and several of the principal inhabitants, whom he had invited to an entertainment. This atrocious deed was perpetrated on the same day in
the

accusation so generally believed, of a criminal intercourse between him and his own daughter, which has caused him to be regarded with a peculiar degree of horror and disgust, it might not be difficult to show its improbability, and to invalidate an imputation which disgraces human nature itself.

CHAP.

VI.

1503.

Æt. 28.

In the second place it may justly be observed, that the vices of Alexander were in some degree counterbalanced by many great qualities, which, in the consideration of his character, ought not to be passed over in silence.* Nor, if this were not the

the preceding year, on which he afterwards fell into the snare of Cesar Borgia. The other persons put to death by Borgia, had also supported themselves by rapine, and were the terror of all Italy. The contests of this period may in fact be regarded by posterity, as a combat of wild beasts, in which the strongest and most ferocious animal destroys the rest.

v. *Macch. lib. del Principe. cap. viii. p. 21, 22.*

* “ ——— in Alexandro, ut de Annibale Livius scribit, æquabant vitia virtutes. Inerant namque ingenium, ratio, cognitio, memoria, diligentia, eloquentia: verò quædam naturalis, et ad persuadendum apta, ut nemo rem cautius proponeret aut acrius defensitaret,” &c. *Raph. Volater. Anthropol. lib. xxii. p. 683.* “Fu magnanimo, et generoso, et prudente, se non che si lasciò vincere dall’amore di figliuoli che haveva, et da troppo cupidità” *Monaldieschi, Comm. Istor. p. 148.*

C H A P. the fact, would it be possible to account for the
VI. peculiar good fortune, which attended him to the
1503. latest period of his life, or for the singular circum-
At. 28. stances recorded of him that, during his whole
pontificate, no popular tumult ever endangered his
authority, or disturbed his repose.* Even by his
severest adversaries, he is allowed to have been a
man of an elevated genius, of a wonderful memory,
eloquent, vigilant, and dexterous in the manage-
ment of all his concerns. The proper supply of
the city of Rome with all the necessaries of life,
was an object of his unceasing attention; and,
during his pontificate, his dominions were exempt
from that famine, which devastated the rest of
Italy. In his diet he was peculiarly temperate,
and he accustomed himself to but little sleep. In
those hours which he devoted to amusement, he
seemed wholly to forget the affairs of state; but
he never suffered those amusements to diminish
the vigour of his faculties, which remained unim-
paired to the last. Though not addicted to the
study of literature, Alexander was munificent to-
wards its professors; to whom he not only granted
liberal salaries, but, with a punctuality very uncom-
mon among the princes of that period, he took
care that those salaries were duly paid.^a That he
at

^a *Raph. Volater. Anthropol lib. xxii. p. 682.*

^a The cardinal Giovanni Borgia, nephew of the pontiff
was

at some times attended the representations of the comedies of Plautus, has been placed in the black catalogue of his defects;^b but if his mind had been more humanized by the cultivation of polite letters, he might, instead of being degraded almost below humanity, have stood high in the scale of positive excellence. To the encouragement of the arts, he paid a more particular attention. The palace of the Vatican was enlarged by him, and many of the apartments were ornamented with the works of the most eminent painters of the time; among whom may be particularized Torrigiano, Baldassare Peruzzi, and Bernardino Pinturicchio. As an architect, his chief favourites were Giuliano and Antonio da San-Gallo; nor does his choice in this respect detract from his judgment. By their assistance, the mole of Hadrian, now called the castle of S. Angelo, was fortified in the manner in which it yet remains. In one circumstance his encouragement of the arts is connected with a singular

C H A P.

VI.

1503.

Æt. 28.

was also an encourager of literature, and condescended to receive instructions from Mariano Probo, of Sulmona, who distinguished himself as a Latin poet, and died at Rome in the year 1499. His *Parthenias*, or Life of the Virgin, in six books, was printed at Naples, in 1524. The preface to this rare volume by Nic. Scævola, contains some curious particulars of the state of learning at Rome, during the pontificate of Alexander VI.

^b Quapropter Comœdias Plautinas ceteraque ludicra, "libenter spectavit." *Raphh. Volater. lib. xxii. p. 685.*

CHAP. gular instance of profaneness, which it is surprising

VI. has not hitherto been enumerated among his many

1893. offences. In a picture painted for him by Pinta-

BR. 28. ricchio, the beautiful Julia Farnese is represented in the sacred character of the Virgin, whilst Alexander himself appears in the same picture, as supreme pontiff, paying to her the tribute of his adoration.









